ARMS OF THE ABBEY OF CLAIRVAUX.

Frontispiece.

STUDIES IN
ST. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

BY

WATKIN W. WILLIAMS, M.A.

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LONDON
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NEW YORK AND TORONTO : THE MACMILLAN CO.
1927

MULIERI AMANTISSIMAE
AC SUPER MODUM
AMATAE

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

PREFACE

THERE is little that these *Studies* do not owe to the inspiration and to the generosity of the Abbé E. Vacandard. Glad that English readers should know more of the great saint, of the history of whose day and of the influence of whose personality thereupon, no living teacher can speak with so high authority as can himself, he has allowed free use to be made of his *Vie de saint Bernard.*

The present writer has not attempted to do more, as yet, than to give some account of the atmosphere in which St. Bernard was born, in which he was nurtured, and in which he was professed; and to indicate the direction in which he moved at the outset of his career. St. Bernard was, in a sense, a man of destiny. It is sought to reveal something of what that destiny was.

Besides the Abbé Vacandard, many others have in different ways contributed to this end. Most cordially do I thank them all. Specially would I name Monsieur Oursel and Monsieur Morel-Payen, the learned Librarians, respectively, of Dijon and of Troyes, Dr. G. G. Coulton, Mr. Falconer Madan, Mr. C. R. Peers, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and Dom Ethelbert Horne and Dom Adrian Morey, both of Downside Abbey; their pains and their patience have been great.

The bibliography would contain only the less familiar, or the less accessible, authorities.

WATKIN WILLIAMS.

DIJON,
Feast of St. Barnabas, 1927.

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
APR 23 1962

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This monastery is the most complete example of the original Cistercian type that now remains. Cf. pp. 114 sqq., *infra*.

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STUDIES IN ST. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

I

DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL

CORRESPONDENCE

SOMEWHERE about the year 1145 Bernard's secretary, Geoffrey of Auxerre, published his *Corpus Epistolarum*, containing, it is said, upwards of 300 letters written by the Abbot of Clairvaux.[1] It is matter for regret that, undoubtedly, much of Bernard's correspondence, as of his other writings, has perished. He was in touch with men and women of all classes in society and in every quarter of the West;[2] and the researches of such scholars as Mabillon, Martène, Durand and Migne, and, among moderns, Kervyn de Lettenhove and Hüffer, have raised the number to something like 530, including therein sixty which were addressed to himself.[3] Mabillon's edition contains 444 letters,

[1] Hüffer (*Bernard von Clairvaux*, I. 186, *ap.* Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard*, I. xiij) gives the number as 310. The Abbé Vacandard points out that the last letter in Geoffrey's collection is No. 243 in the Benedictine edition, that *Ad Romanos*, written in 1145, and regards Hüffer's estimate as erroneous.

[2] Such was his influence "ut per unius os Bernardi purpurati patres, reges, principesque terrarum, quasi per commune mundi oraculum," were wont to voice their will.—Cæsar. Heisterbac. *De Mirac.* XIV. 17, *ap.* Brial, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XV. 541.

[3] Vacandard, *op. cit.* xiv.

of which the first 310 are said to represent "veterem collectionem, ipso Bernardo vivente factam"; the following 107 being a later addition, and the remaining 27 being either spurious, or received by Bernard or written in his name.[1] In 1724 Martène and Durand published 35 letters "hactenus ineditas," from a MS. in the monastery of St. Vedast of Arras,[2] but of these five were already contained in Mabillon's collection.[3] Probably there were many more than the extant 530; Bernard was scrupulous in his attention to this department of his work, and it was certainly exacting in its claims;[4] Hüffer estimates the number of letters written and received by him at about 1,000. Their great value, so deplorably overlooked at the time, consists in the fact that they constitute, with possibly the exception of the semi-official chronicles, our most reliable source for constructing the history of the second quarter of the twelfth century.

As a rule Bernard dictated his correspondence. His first secretary was William, who in 1132 became first Abbot of Rievaulx;[5] during the period 1140 to 1145 we find the task assigned to Geoffrey of Auxerre, who had been a disciple of Abélard, but had abandoned the tenets of his master; from 1145 onwards, to Nicholas and to other religious of Clairvaux. Nicholas

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[1] Brial, *op. cit.* 542.

[2] Martin. et Durand. *Script. et Monument. Ampliss. Collect.* I. 725 sqq.

[3] Migne, P.L. CLXXXII. Col. 626, note 1087.

[4] "Non fuit meæ consuetudinis hactenus nolle respondere hominibus etiam pusillis."—Bern. *Ep. ad Episc. Wormat. ap.* Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 2e série, quoted Vacandard, *op. cit.* xiv.

[5] "Quo ministro usus est Bernardus in scribenda epistola I. ad Robertum."—Mabillon. *S. Bern. Epist.* CCCLIIJ. *Ad Will.*, note (a). *Epist.* CCCLX. also is addressed to William, Abbot of Rievaulx.

demands some notice. He was a clever impostor who came to Clairvaux in 1145 from the monastery of Montier-Ramey, near Troyes, and was admitted there as a monk—apparently he had already been professed —in Bernard's absence. During the course of his service to Bernard he managed to ingratiate himself with Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, whom he completely hoodwinked; but in 1151 he was expelled from Clairvaux for theft and, as Bernard hints not too darkly, for unspeakable turpitude,[1] and betook himself again to his old monastery, where we lose sight of him. The extent of Bernard's correspondence at this period may be gathered from the fact that Nicholas had assistance in his secretarial duties.[2]

Beyond the historical value of the correspondence there is, of course, the outstanding fact that in it is revealed, as probably by no other means, Bernard himself as he really was. The words are his words; the style is his style; he gave no mere outline to be filled in by the hand of another; every touch is his

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[1] Bernard tells the story of his departure in a letter written to Eugenius III in the same year (1151). "Et ego longe ante hominem noveram: sed expectabam ut aut Deus eum converteret, aut instar Judæ, ipse se proderet: quod et factum est. Præter libros, denarios, et aureos multos, in ipso exitu ejus inventa sunt super eum sigilla tria: unum ejus proprium, alterum Prioris, tertium nostrum; ipsumque non antiquum, sed novellum; quod et, ob ipsius dolos, et furtivas supreptiones, mutare nuper coactus fueram . . . De turpitudinibus ejus, quibus terra sordet, et factæ sunt omnibus in parabolam, supersedeo polluere labia mea, et vestras aures . . . mementote Arnaldi de Brixia, quia, ecce, plus quam Arnaldus hic. Nullus perpetua dignior inclusione, nihil ei perpetuo silentio justius."—S. Bern. *Ep.* CCXCVIII. Cf. Beaunier, *Recueil des Abbayes de France*, II. 823.

[2] For further details see Mabillon. *Præfatio in Tom. III. Opp. S. Bern.* xxxvi sqq. Among Nicholas's assistants was "Girardus de Perrona, amicus eius singularis, *individuus comes*, inquit in Epistola X, *scriptitationum mearum*."

very own. Thus, for the accomplished critic, these letters set the standard of the genuine *Bernardina*. In them he paints, as it were unconsciously, the portrait of himself. Rough-hewn at times, often ironical, passing rapidly, in certain instances, from violent indignation to tender solicitude,[1] they are the natural utterance of a massive personality which knows neither fear nor favour. To our ears the language is frequently, as that of one who was so modest as was Bernard, so charitable in his estimate of his fellows, something of a shock; but it is always the language of fidelity to truth; the direct thrust is never more than honest dealing. "You imagine," he writes to Henry, Archbishop of Sens, "that, because there is no justice left in your own heart, there is none to be found elsewhere in the world . . . my words are, doubtless, bolder and more biting than you like; but they are calculated to bring you to your senses; if only you really wish to get there."[2] If need be, this is his tone alike with kings and with popes, with bishops and with humble religious. And yet never is there the faintest suggestion of personal aggrandizement; none knew better than did he the supreme merit of self-effacement. When Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, addresses him as *concivis angelorum*, Bernard exclaims with horror: "Quis facis, O bone vir?

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[1] This feature is illustrated by one of Bernard's most characteristic letters, *Epist.* I. *Ad Robertum nepotem suum*, to which we shall later have occasion to refer in some detail. Cf. also *Epist.* CCXXI. 1 and 4. *Ad Ludovicum Regem Francorum*: "Scit Deus quantum vos, ex quo novi, dilexi . . . quantaque sollicitudine toto anno præterito quærendæ paci vestræ intendi . . . Dure loquor, quia duriora vobis formido: sed mementote a Sapiente dictum: *Meliora* esse *verbera amici quam fraudulenta oscula inimici*."

[2] *Epist.* CLXXXII.

Laudas peccatorem, miserum beatificas! Restat ut ores, ne inducar in errorem. Inducor autem si, tantis delectatus præconiis, ignorare me cœpero." [1] This trait of transparent selflessness it is which, for example, supplied Mabillon with the touchstone whereby he detected the spurious character of such an Epistle as that numbered CCCCLXIII in the *Patrologia Latina* of Migne.[2]

To recur to the historical aspect of Bernard's correspondence, it may, for the excellence of its contemporary portraiture, not unjustly be compared with such a later work as the *Mémoires* of Maximilien de Béthune, Duke of Sully; indeed the area covered by Bernard is, if anything, more extensive than that which came within the range of the famous minister of Henry IV of France; and it is certainly the less artificial production and the freer both from mannerisms and from *parti pris*. Bernard had no taste for anything in the nature of *courtisanerie*. Popes, like Innocent II and Eugenius III; kings and emperors and queens, like Louis le Gros, Lothaire III and Matilda, the consort of Stephen of Blois; [3] great nobles, like the Dukes of Burgundy and of Aquitaine;

[1] *Epist.* CCLXIV and CCLXV.

[2] Vacandard, *op. cit.* xvii. With reference to *Epist.* CCCCLXIII and CCCCLXIV Migne writes: "Certe Bernardi genius, stylus, modestia in eis desiderari videntur."—*Patr. Lat.* CLXXXII. Col. 667, note 1117.

[3] Daughter and heiress of Eustace, Count of Boulogne. She bore to Stephen two sons, Eustace and William, both of whom died at a comparatively early age. The only extant letter written to her by Bernard is addressed "dilectissimæ in Christo filiæ (quod non ex præsumptione loquor, sed ex affectu)." The conclusion of the letter refers in touching terms to the birth of her younger son: "De cætero bene servate mihi filium quem nunc peperistis; quia et ego quoque (si Regi non displicet) in eo mihi vindico portionem. Vale."—S. Bern. *Epist.* CCCXV. Mabillon assigns this letter to *cir.* 1134.

mighty soldiers, like Roger II of Sicily ; [1] subtle philosophers, like Abélard ; astute ecclesiastics, like Suger,[2] Abbot of St. Denis ; these and their congeners figure on his pages.

And yet, in estimating the correspondence of Bernard, there are limitations with which to reckon. The writer, while always sincere, is not always accurate ; naturally unsuspicious of the good faith of his informants, he is sometimes misled. To give an instance, Epistle CCXI, addressed to Innocent II in the year 1142, contains an appeal on behalf of Robert, Bishop of London, against his deposed predecessor, Anselm,

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[1] Roger II, Count of Sicily and Duke of Apulia, consolidated a strong Norman power in Southern Italy. Anacletus II, the pseudo-pope, in order to attach him the more firmly to his own faction, in 1130 granted him the title of King of Sicily.—Baron. *Annal.* XVIII (xxix), li and lij. *an.* 1130. Cf. Horst. et Mabill. *Opp. S. Bern. Not. Fus. in Ep.* CXXVII. This Epistle (CXXVII), written about the year 1132, illustrates the extent of Bernard's activity in the diplomatic sphere. Similarly in Epistle CXXIX (*Ad Januenses*) we find him in 1133 directing the policy of a great state : " Audivimus venisse ad vos nuntios Ducis Rogerii : quid attulerint, quidve retulerint, nos nescimus. Verum ego, juxta illud poetæ, ut verum fatear, semper timui Danaos, et dona ferentes."

[2] Suger ruled the royal abbey of St. Denis from 1123 until his death, at the age of seventy, in 1151. Although a Black Monk, he was converted by Bernard to the spirit of the Cistercian reform, and Epistle LXXVIII, written in 1127, congratulates him upon his conversion and urges him to persevere : " Tene quod tenes, hostiæque caudam junge capiti " (*ad fin.*). Epistle CCLXVI, written to Suger in 1151, when he was on his death-bed, reveals the extent of Bernard's affection for him : " Non mihi perit, sed præit, cujus animæ mea adhæsit glutino, quod non dilapabitur et vinculo quod non dirumpetur." Suger's services were, previously to the year 1127, frequently enlisted in state affairs ; in 1121–1122 he represented Louis le Gros on a mission to Callixtus II, and, in later days, during the absence of Louis VII in the Holy Land, he was entrusted with a share in the administration of the kingdom.

nephew of the saint of that name and Abbot of St. Edmundsbury. There is little doubt but that, had Bernard not been wrongly informed by the partiality of his English friends,[1] he would not have complained of Anselm that he had seized the securities and lands of the Church and refused to restore them.[2]

Finally, some embarrassment is created for the student by the fact that the erroneous chronological order of Geoffrey of Auxerre's *Corpus Epistolarum* has successfully defied the corrective efforts of the critics, from Mabillon onwards. The correspondence yet awaits arrangement in due historical sequence.

THE *VITA PRIMA*

There are to be found in the *Patrologia Latina* of Migne no less than four so-called *Lives* of St. Bernard. Of these the third is not more than a collection of *Fragmenta*, albeit of very considerable interest, and the fourth is assigned by Hüffer to the region of the legendary. The first two alone deserve their title.[3]

The *Vita Prima* is of composite authorship. It originally consisted of five books, of which the first was written by William of St. Thierry, the second by Arnald of Bonneval; the remaining three are the work of Geoffrey of Auxerre. A sixth book was added later, entitled variously in the different editions of the

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[1] Vacandard, *op. cit.* xix.

[2] "Ipsius Ecclesiæ vadia terrasque distraxerit, et distracta restituere nolit."—*Epist.* CCXI. On *vadia* Mabillon notes "*pignora* seu *hypothecas*." Robert appears to have given trouble again a few years later. Mansi (*Concil.* XXI. 648 sq. *an.* 1145) quotes two letters written by Eugenius III, both on the same day (June 26th, 1145), the one to King Stephen, begging him to extend his favour to Robert, the other to Queen Matilda, soliciting her interest with her husband in the same behalf.

[3] Vacandard, *op. cit.* xx.

Opera of Bernard, but with the constant description of *Liber Miraculorum*, the miracles in question having been wrought by Bernard on his travels in France, Belgium and Germany, of which Migne speaks as the *Germanicum Iter.*

Between William, Abbot of St. Thierry in the diocese of Rheims, and Bernard there existed a friendship as lasting as it was deep.[1] He was responsible, as instigator, for three of the most important of Bernard's treatises, namely, the *Apologia*, the *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio* [2] and the *De Erroribus Abœlardi ;* and it was in response to the prayer of the disciples of the Abbot of Clairvaux that, unknown to their beloved master,[3] he undertook to write his *Life*, a task interrupted, alas ! by the biographer's decease in the year 1147 or 1148. William evidently began to write after the monks of Clairvaux had removed from the *Monasterium Vetus* [4] and after the healing

[1] William was born of noble stock at Liège (" ex urbe Leodiensi nobili genere ortus "). After having been educated at Rheims, he entered the monastery of St. Nicasius in that city, and later became Abbot of St. Nicolas-aux-Bois in the diocese of Laon, whence in 1120 he was promoted to the Abbacy of St. Thierry near Rheims. Horst. et Mabillon. *Opp. S. Bern. Notæ Fus. in Ep.* LXXXV. He appears to have sought to lay aside the dignity of an abbot of a monastery of Black Monks and to enter Clairvaux (" si optio illa die mihi data fuisset, nil tam optassem quam ibi cum eo semper manere ad serviendum ei "—*Vita Prima*, I. vij. 33) ; in any case, when he wrote his contribution to the *Life* of Bernard he was no longer an abbot, but a monk of Signy, (" tunc monachus Signiacensis ") in the diocese of Rheims and in the district of the Ardennes. Cf. Mabillon. *Admonit in Libr. De Vit. et Gest. S. Bern. I* and *Admonit in S. Bern. Apolog.* III ; see also Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 34.

[2] Cf. the present writer's English translation of the *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, vi. sqq.

[3] " Nec edenda vivente ipso, sicut nec scribuntur ipso sciente." —*Vita Prima*, I. *Præfat.*

[4] " Translatis post aliquot annos ædificiis monasterii."—

of the schism of Anacletus II;[1] Mabillon suggests that it may have been so late as 1145.[2] Judged even by the standard of modern criticism the work is of high value, for the writer was exacting as to the credibility of his witnesses,[3] amongst whom none was more credible than was Geoffrey of Auxerre, the author of the *Collectanea* or *Fragmenta*, commonly called the *Vita Tertia*. Of this latter work there remain but two MSS.,[4] of which the one is in the Library of the Bollandists at Brussels,[5] and the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.[6]

Geoffrey was peculiarly fitted to tell the story of his master, Bernard, whose secretary he became soon after his conversion from the tenets of Abélard in 1140.[7] In 1145 he travelled with Bernard in Languedoc

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Vita Prima, I. vij. 34. "De locis angustioribus vallis illius, domus claustralis habitationis . . . translatæ in locum planiorem et spatiosum."—*Ibid.* xiij. 62.

[1] "Quae schismata Ecclesiæ non sedavit?"—*Ibid.* viii. 40.

[2] "Post annum MCXL et forte post MCXLV."—Mabillon. *Admon. in op. cit.* II.

[3] "Omnia ejus noverunt, ingerentes quædam diligenti inquisitione vestigata, plura etiam quibus, cum fierent, ipsi interfuerunt, et viderunt et audierunt . . . adhuc etiam ad testimonium sibi adsciscunt probabilium auctoritatem personarum."—*Vita Prima*, I. *Præfat.*

[4] Chifflet had made use of a MS. from Orval (*Aurea Vallis*) in Luxemburg, a daughter of Troisfontaines, founded in 1132. Extracts from this MS., which is now lost, are given in his *Opuscula Quatuor*, IV. *Excerpta singularia ex collectaneis de vita . . . S. Bernardi . . . auctore Gaufrido Abbate, etc.* Paris, 1679.

[5] Bolland. 30. The *Acta Sanct. Bolland.* Augusti IV. *die* 20. 101 sqq., the work of Jean Pien, are based upon this MS., a copy of the Orval text used by Chifflet, as is also the same writer's *Gloria Posthuma ac Supplementum ad Vitam, ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 943 sqq. Cf. Vacandard, *op. cit.* xxi. sq. *Vide* p. 61, *infra*, note 1.

[6] Paris 17639.

[7] This date is fixed by the fact that he speaks of his relation

and wrote to Clairvaux, as they journeyed, an account of what happened by the way, and approximately at this date it was, as we have seen, that he published his *Corpus Epistolarum*. Subsequently he was Abbot of Igny in Champagne, in the diocese of Rheims, until in 1162 he was promoted to the Abbacy of Clairvaux, a dignity which in 1165, owing to some internal faction, of which we know nothing, he resigned; and for a time he appears to have devoted himself to a life of contemplation.[1] We hear of him next in 1176 as Abbot of Fossanova, a Cistercian house of the diocese of Terracina in Italy, near the old city of Forum Appii, about sixty miles south-east of Rome; later he became Abbot of Hautecombe in Savoy, the mother-house of Fossanova.[2]

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to Bernard as having lasted thirteen years. "Videtur autem nonnullis, quod multo minus eum silere debuerat (*al.* debeat) puer sanctitatis ipsius, dignationis filius, benignitatis alumnus: quem ab ejus uberibus post annos circiter tredecim (quod sine singultu nec meminisse debeo, nec proferre queo) sola tandem, quæ sola potuit, mors avulsit."—*Vita Prima*, III.. *Præfat.* Geoffrey was converted on the occasion of Bernard's delivery of the *De Conversione ad Clericos* at Paris. "Sit benedicta dies illa a Domino, qua sedenti in tenebris et in umbra mortis lux orta est mihi."—*Fragmenta ex Tertia Vita*, IX.

[1] "Anno Domini 1162 . . . Abbas quoque Igniaci, domnus Gaufridus, promotus in abbatem Claravallis quadriennio circiter præfuit . . .

Anno Domini 1165 . . . abbas Claravallis domnus Gaufridus, videns contra se, sive juste, sive injuste quorumdam odia concitata, abbatiam dimisit." — *Chronicon Clarevallense*, *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 1247 sqq. For Igny see Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 14.

[2] "Anno Domini 1176, abbas Altæcumbæ domnus Henricus . . . domnum Gaufridum quondam Clarevallensem abbatem, tunc contemplationi vacantem, in Fossanova præfecit. Et item quando ipse de Altacumba ad Claramvallem assumptus est, eumdem abbatem Gaufridum ad Altamcumbam loco sui promovere curavit."—*Op. cit.* Col. 1249. For Fossanova see Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 37.

After the death of Bernard in 1153 Arnald of Bonneval was urged by the monks of Clairvaux to continue the biographical work interrupted by the death of William of St. Thierry some five or six years earlier; and to him we owe the second book of the *Vita Prima*.[1] This book possesses the same distinctive feature as does the rest of the *Vita Prima*, that, namely, of the personal intimacy existing between the writer and his subject. Arnald it was to whom Bernard wrote pathetically from his death-bed: "Sleep, the boon that soothes the senses and puts pain to flight, has left me. The weakness of the stomach is my chief distress. . . . My feet and legs have swollen, as it were with dropsy, yet in all this—to hide nothing from a friend who longs to know the suffering of a friend—as may concern the inner man (I speak as a fool) the spirit is most willing but the flesh is weak." [2]

With the memory of these last words lingering about

[1] "Nec jam in stylo, sed in cruce gloriam quærunt. In hoc ergo, sicut in cæteris ejusmodi, negotiorum suorum sarcinas aliis libenter imponunt. Et nunc sublato venerabilis memoriæ domno Guillelmo qui ejusdem viri sancti gloriosa primordia fideliter ac devote conscripsit, ad meam exiguitatem hujus operis devenit petitio."—*Vita Prima*, II. *Præfat.* Arnald was abbot of the Benedictine house of Bonneval, about twenty miles from Chartres, "illius quæ est in agro Carnutensi Nigrorum Monachorum" (Mabillon. *Admon. in Libr. de Vita et Gest. S. Bern.* III), not of the Cistercian house of that name, founded in 1119 in the diocese of Vienne.—*Gall. Christ.* XVI. 209. Cf. *Vie de monseur saint Bernard.* Br. Mus.

[2] The passage, as indeed the whole of the letter, baffles translation. "Somnus recessit a me, ne vel beneficio sospiti sensus dolor unquam recedat. Defectus stomachi fere totum quod patior est . . . Pedes et crura intumuerunt, quemadmodum hydropicis contingere solet. Et in his omnibus, ne quid lateat amicum de statu amici sollicitum, secundum interiorem hominem (ut minus sapiens dico) spiritus promptus est in carne infirma." —*Epist.* CCCX.

his heart Arnald took up his pen.[1] As had William of St. Thierry before him, Arnald drew for his material from the *Fragmenta* of Geoffrey of Auxerre, but with an even truer historical instinct than had William. Statements of doubtful authenticity were deliberately set aside by him, and his record is calculated to win the confidence of the student.[2] In the main he writes a chronicle of Bernard's active interest in support of Innocent II on the occasion of the schism of Anacletus II, from the year 1130 until the decease of the latter in the year 1138; giving details of his journey to Aquitaine, and of his three journeys to Italy, in the same cause.[3]

After the death of Arnald,[4] Geoffrey of Auxerre took in hand the remaining three books of the original *Vita Prima;* in the fourth book making considerable use of the *Fragmenta*, but, with a growing sense, it

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[1] "Statim ab ejus (*sc.* Bernardi) obitu."—Manric. *Ann. Cisterc.* II. *an.* 1153. xj. 4.

[2] Cf. e.g. his *Præfatio*, in which he writes: "si colocynthidas miscuero negligens . . . excessus insipientiæ obedientiæ excusabit affectus," and his estimate, in iv. 25, of the conduct of Bernard: "alii mirantur miracula . . . cum etiam, quod gloriosius judicatur, facta ejus et verba conformarentur miraculis; nunquam excessit, nunquam supra se in mirabilibus ambulavit." He is evidently alive to the danger of credulity in an historian.

[3] "Per funesta, ac diuturna schismatis illius tempora quantos Bernardus labores sustinuerit, quot itinera confecerit, ex ejus Vita et epistolis (ut jam diximus) intelligitur. Hujus rei causa ter in Italiam profectus est, ejusque tandem opera schisma compressum, mortuo Anacleto anno MCXXXVIII, cui schismatici Victorem antipapam substituerunt, *non tam ex pertinacia schismatis, quam ut opportunius per aliquam temporis moram Papæ Innocentiæ reconciliarentur* (*Vita Prima*, II. vij. 47)."—Mabillon. *In S. Bern. Ab. Nov. Ed. Præfat. Gen.* XLVII. "Septem annis et ultra pro resarcienda eadem scissione sudavit."—*Vita Prima*, II. vij. 47

[4] "Opus imperfectum moriens reliquit."—Mabillon. *Admonitio in Libr. de Vita, etc.* III.

would seem, of historical values, suppressing all reference to miraculous events of which he had not been an eye-witness. The fifth book has an interest of its own ; it appeared before the year 1154 and earlier than the other two, and the Paris MS. of it was probably written and retouched by the author's own hand.[1]

It should be borne in mind that, as regards the credibility of the *Vita Prima*, the testimony of its writers was confirmed at the time by a small but trustworthy public. The ecclesiastics who had assisted at the death-bed of Bernard in 1153 met again at Clairvaux in 1155 for the express purpose of revising and approving the text of the *Vita Prima ;* and of these persons many of them had themselves witnessed various of the facts narrated.[2] Thus the authors confronted the perils of publicity.

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[1] Paris 7561. Vacandard, *op. cit.* xxiij. sq. "Codex Parisiensis nr. 7561 hunc (*sc.* quintum librum) præbet separatim descriptum multisque locis auctoris manu emendatum vel mutatum. Præmissa est epistola ad Eskilum Lundensem archiepiscopum data, et ipsa curis secundis expolita."—Waitz, *ap. Monument. German. Hist.* XXVI. 93. Mabillon, in his edition, gives this epistle to Eskil before the *Præfatio* to the *Liber Tertius*, as *ex Tom. V. Miscell.* Baluz. 453. Manricus speaks of Geoffrey as writing within two years of the death of Bernard. "Porro Guillelmus, ut dixi, vivente sancto ; Arnaldus abbas, statim ab ejus obitu ; Godefridus biennio post scripsit."—Manric. *Ann. Cisterc.* II. *an.* 1153, xi. 4. "Iam antea fortasse Gaufridus . . . de ultimo vitæ tempore et morte libellum composuit, quem Eskildo archiepiscopo Lundensi, illius discipulo, direxit et in quo emendando diutius desudasse videtur," writes Waitz (*Monument. German. Hist.* XXVI. 92), "paullo post etiam duos libros præmisit, quorum primus *ea*, ait, *maxime quæ ad habitum, mores atque doctrinam Bernardi videntur pertinere prosequitur, secundus autem virtutes multas per eum factas eloquitur*," quoting the *Præfatio* of Geoffrey to the third book of the *Vita Prima*, similar language to which occurs in the *Prologus Episcoporum* (*ap.* Waitz, *op. cit.* 109 sq.).

[2] *Vita Prima*, IV. iv. 24 sq. appears to refer to this concourse.

A further confirmation of the value of the *Vita Prima* is provided by the fact that there exist some two hundred MSS. of it, nearly all of them complete; of this total twenty-eight belong to the twelfth century.[1] The variants are few in number, but significant of a division into two groups, commonly called Recension A and Recension B.[2] Amongst outstanding distinctions we may notice: (1) that certain suppressions, additions and corrections occur in B—especially in Book IV are the suppressions marked; (2) that B alone contains the *Praefatio* of Geoffrey. It will be

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"Virum quoque venerabilem Gerardum Lemovicensem episcopum testantem audivimus . . . venerabiles abbates Gerardus et Henricus de Sueciæ partibus venientes, dum super his conferremus, testati sunt nobis. . . ." Cf. *Ibid.* 26: "Narraverunt etiam nobis viri religiosi, qui cum eodem archiepiscopo (*sc.* Danorum archiepiscopo Eskilo) venerant, miraculum dignum memoria." Plainly the miraculous was not rejected *à priori*, but evidence for it was subjected to scrutiny in each case. The *Prologus Episcoporum et Abbatum Multorum in Ultimos Tres Libellos, etc.*, given by Waitz (*ap. Monumenta German. Hist.* xxvj. 109 sq.), describes the same event. "Post beati patris nostri Bernardi Clarevallensis abbatis excessum ad ipsius memoriam filiali devotione convenimus nos episcopi et abbates, qui in horam usque novissimam, indigni licet, sacris ejus vestigiis adherentes, quod de illo homine Dei hominibus innotescere potuit, plenius et perfectius tam nostra ipsorum experientia diuturna quam illius erga nos speciali dignatione cognovimus. . . . Verumptamen quæ de eodem patre nostro a reverendis abbatibus Willelmo Sancti Theoderici et Ernaldo Bonevallis fideliter scripta repperimus, diligenter quidem examinata, sicut erant recipere quam rescribere et approbare maluimus quam mutare. Libenter enim parcimus stilo, ubi testimonio licet esse contentos."

[1] Hüffer, *Bernard von Clairvaux*, I. 108 sqq. *ap.* Vacandard, *op. cit.* xxiv.

[2] Waitz writes of the MSS.: "Quos potui denuo inspexi aliosque qui ad manus fuerunt in subsidium vocavi. Facile est intellectu, duas præsertim Vitæ recensiones esse discernendas, quas A and B indicavi. Sed quintus Gaufridi liber etiam plures induit formas."—*Ap. Monumenta German. Histor.* XXVI. 93.

observed that in the editions of Mabillon and of Migne certain passages, for example, IV. ij. 11, are contained by brackets; the passages thus contained represent what is found in A, but suppressed in B. It is the considered opinion of the Abbé Vacandard that Geoffrey of Auxerre was the author of Recension B, and that its character is such as to indicate that, during the ten years which had elapsed since he wrote Recension A, his historical sense had become more exacting.[1]

THE *LIBER MIRACULORUM*

We are, of course, prepared to find the atmosphere of Bernard's day charged with the supernatural. To the minds not only of those who were within his immediate circle, but of all whom his fame reached, it would have seemed scarcely reasonable that he should not have been endowed with thaumaturgic power at least in some measure. We are not concerned to discuss the probability or the contrary of what are termed ecclesiastical miracles; we would merely remind ourselves that, for the scientific historian, these miracles, as are others, are subject to the test supplied by the evidence of eye-witnesses. We have noticed the degree in which the writers of the *Vita Prima* can lay claim to be trustworthy narrators of the facts of Bernard's life.[2]

[1] Vacandard, *op. cit.* xxv. sq. Cf. Waitz, *op. cit.* 94: "Recensionem B esse posteriorem, multa sunt quæ ostendant. Auctor, quisquis fuit, nonnulla omisit, alia addidit, verba nonnumquam aliter disposuit." It is noteworthy that, as regards the age of Bernard, two MSS. of A, Codex Monacensis 2613 and Codex Berolinensis 334, read, at V. ij. 15, "annis circiter sexaginta quattuor expletis" instead of the "annis circiter sexaginta tribus expletis" of the text of B.—Waitz, *op. cit.* 120. This suggests that "tribus" is a correction made by Geoffrey in Recension B. *Vide*, p. 42, *infra*, for the age of Bernard.

[2] P. 13, *supra*.

The earliest document in which any prominence is given to miracles wrought by the Abbot of Clairvaux is a letter written to his brethren by Geoffrey of Auxerre, during his journey with Bernard in Languedoc in the year 1145.[1] It was perhaps intended not only for the Clairvaux monks, but also for those of Troisfontaines, or of some other daughter-house.[2] Its allusion to the frailty of Bernard's health gives it an unmistakable touch of reality; Geoffrey would seem to be a little doubtful as to the wisdom of their undertaking, when even Bernard himself was depressed by his weakness.[3] In illustration of the miracles recorded we may instance the cure of persons with distorted hands and fingers—apparently acute rheumatic distortions—in Toulouse and its neighbourhood.[4] There is interesting evidence that, in one case, Bernard actually manipulated the suffering limb.[5]

During the years immediately following, namely, in 1146 and 1147, Bernard travelled in the Rhineland,

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[1] Migne, *P.L.* CLXXXV. Coll. 410 sqq. It appears in Mabillon's and in Migne's editions at the end of the *Liber Miraculorum*. Waitz gives it earlier position in *Monumenta Germ. Hist.* XXVI. 92. It is addressed: "Magistro suo carissimo Archenfredo et utrique Capitulo, fratribus suis uterinis, frater Gaufridus," etc.

[2] "Quid autem sibi velit τὸ *utrique Capitulo*, non satis equidem intelligo: nisi fortassis hæc epistola etiam directa fuerit ad cœnobitas abbatiæ Trium-fontium, primam matris Claravallensis filiam, vel ad aliam ex primis."—*Annotat. ad Acta Bolland.* Augusti IV. *die* 20. 351, where the letter is given by Pien.

[3] "Dum appropinquaremus Pictavim, cœpit dominus Abbas infirmari, ita ut paulo minus eum pœnitere inciperet oneris, non itineris hujus."—*Epist. Gaufr.* 2. *ap.* Migne, *loc. cit.*

[4] "Ex his qui manus habebant intortas in partem alteram, et digitos in partem replicatos, tres sanavit Tolosæ, tres in confiniis ejus."—*Op. cit.* 9.

[5] "Signans manum, atque apprehendens digitos cum omni facilitate aperuit."—*Op. cit.* 9.

preaching the Second Crusade. The *Liber Miraculorum* is a diary, in three parts, of some four months of these years. Its full title usually indicates that it describes miracles *per Germaniam, Belgiam, Galliamque patrata.*[1] It is a remarkable work, and it would be well to tell in some detail the story of its composition. On the first section of his journey, covering the period December 1st to January 3rd, 1146 to 1147,[2] from Frankfort to Constance and from Constance to Spires, Bernard was accompanied by, amongst others, Hermann, Bishop of Constance, and his chaplain, Everard, the Abbots Frewin of Salmansweiler and Baldwin of Châtillon, Philip, Archdeacon of Liège, Alexander, Canon of Cologne, and Gerard and Geoffrey, monks of Clairvaux. His fellow-travellers were constantly engaged in making notes, each upon his own *schedula*, of the evénts which happened by the way.[3] Before they separated these notes were reduced to a common narrative, largely in the form of dialogue, which was despatched from Spires on January 3rd, 1147, to a brother of Louis le Jeune, by name Henry, then a monk at Clairvaux.[4] The editions usually give a *Præfatio* to this first part of the *Liber* addressed by one Philip, also a Clairvaux monk, to Samson, Archbishop

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[1] Cf. the editions of Mabillon and of Migne. Waitz's text is entitled *Historia Miraculorum in Itinere Germanico Patratorum.*

[2] Waitz, *op. cit.* 122 sqq. Cf. *Vita Prima,* VI. i. 1 (*al.* Procemium): "Dominica prima Adventus Domini ingressi sumus fines episcopatus Constantiensis."

[3] "GERARDUS . . . Nostra quidem schedula, ubi hæc annotaveramus, negligentia cujusdam fratris, amissa est; parcat ei Deus!"—*Vita Prima,* VI. v. 19.

[4] We read in the *Procemium* to *Pars* ij (*Vita Prima,* VI. vj. 22): "Multi ex vobis curiose legerunt exemplar libelli, quod ad illustrem Henricum, regium spiritu magis quam sanguine, misimus de signis quæ vidimus a prima Dominica Adventus usque ad discessum nostrum a curia, quæ nuper Spirae habita est."

of Rheims ; [1] Martène and Durand, however, print in their *Thesaurus* a covering letter addressed to Henry, *ex mss. Alnensi et Viconiensi*, which is simply described as that "monachorum Clarevallensium," and regard Philip's preface as indicating the fact that the narrative was sent to Samson in the second instance.[2] Waitz gives the said letter after that to Samson, and describes it as *Epistola Herimanni Constantiensis Episcopi*. This MS., despatched from Spires to Clairvaux, formed afterwards the first part of the *Liber Miraculorum*.[3]

A few days later, about January 18th, another document, covering the intervening period from January 3rd, was prepared at Liège, in precisely the same manner as the former, and addressed to the clergy of Cologne, where Bernard's brief sojourn had been signalized by various miracles wrought by him.[4] Amongst the persons responsible for this narrative we find several fresh names, Dietrich, Abbot of Vieux-Camp, Irwin, Abbot of Steinfeld, another Everard, a monk, and Volkmar, a priest of the diocese of Constance. The Bishop of Constance was no longer one of the narrators, and Everard, his chaplain, had probably departed with him.[5] There is no further

[1] See Mabillon and Migne. This *Præfatio* is derived from the Codex Clarimariscensis.—*Thesaurus Nov. Anecd.* I. 399.

[2] *Thesaur. Nov. Anecd.* I. 399. Cf. p. 22, *infra.*

[3] In the Codex Duacensis 372, a twelfth-century MS., which contains only the first two parts of the *Liber*, this part is entitled *Signa quæ in Alemannia per servum suum Bernardum Abbatem Clarevallensem operatus est Deus.*—Waitz, *op. cit.* 122.

[4] "Ea quidem miracula, quæ a Spira usque Leodium facta vidimus et cognovimus, ad clerum Coloniensem eo descripsimus modo, quo priora fuerant descripta, ut, ad instar collationis, vicissim ea, quibus affuimus, singuli loqueremur."—*Vita Prima*, VI. x. 34. (*Pars* iii. *ad init. Epistola Gaufridi.*)

[5] "Nonnulla quoque ex his quæ præsentes viderunt venerabiles abbates Theodoricus Campensis et Hevervinus Steinvol-

mention made of Abbots Baldwin or Frewin; presumably they parted company with Bernard at Spires; Alexander, Canon of Cologne, left him apparently at Liège, as did two ecclesiastics, Otto and Franco, who had been with him on the earlier part of his journey.[1] This document, addressed, as we have stated, to the clergy of Cologne, formed the second part of the *Liber Miraculorum*. The editions of Mabillon and of Migne are so capitulated as to obscure somewhat the *terminus a quo* of the narrative proper. There is a covering letter, which ends with the words " sequentibus signis ; " [2] following this we find a short *Proœmium* which ends with the words " ipse loquatur ; " [3] from which point the narrative proper begins. The covering letter is usually described as sent by Clairvaux monks.[4]

The subject of the third part is the story of Bernard's return to Clairvaux from Liège, of his journey to Étampes and of his return thence to Clairvaux. Waitz dates, reasonably enough, his arrival at Châlons-sur-Marne from Liège about February 2nd, 1147, for it was on Candlemass that Louis le Jeune and other princes and potentates met Bernard there, and

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densis, sicut ab eis accepimus, sub eorum nominibus sunt descripta. Iam, quia reverendus episcopus Constantiensis abest locum ejus clericus ejus, noster autem frater, Wolkemarus suppleat in hac relatione."—*Vita Prima*, VI. vj. 22 sq. (*Proœmium, Pars* ij. *ad fin.*)

[1] Vacandard, *op. cit.* xxviij.

[2] Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 387.

[3] *Ibid.* Col. 388. This is all well set out by Waitz, *ap. Monument. German. Hist.* XXVI. 128 sq.

[4] Mabillon and Migne add " et comitum sancti Bernardi " ; Waitz's text reads: *Epistola quorundam Clarevallensium monacorum ad clerum Coloniensem ;* the Paris MS. 17639 has: *Incipit epistola de miraculis Bernardi abbatis ;* in the Codex Bruxellensis 21848, a twelfth-century MS., the *Epistola ad clerum Coloniensem*, so described, is found at the end of the narrative. Waitz, *op. cit.* 128.

discussed with him the enterprise of the Crusade.[1] Apparently by the following Thursday, February 5th, he had reached Bar-sur-Aube, where, we read, on that day he celebrated Holy Mass, and whence, the same afternoon or evening, he arrived at Clairvaux.[2] After a few days quietly spent [3] Bernard set out for Étampes, again upon the affairs of the Crusade.[4] The return to Clairvaux was by way of Molesme, which place he left on a Thursday, conjecturally February 20th.[5] It was at the end of this month, in the year 1147, that Geoffrey wrote the third part of the *Liber ;* all but the last two chapters of the printed editions (XVI and XVII), which constitute an appendix of notes added after Bernard's second visit to Frankfort, for which purpose he had left Clairvaux before Friday, March 27th.[6]

[1] Waitz, *op. cit.* 135. Cf. *Vita Prima,* VI. xiii. 42 (*Pars* iii), *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 400 : " Dominica die festum erat Purificationis beatæ Mariæ : et Francorum rex Ludovicus, devotissimus et Christianissimus princeps, Catalaunum occurrebat Viro Dei. Plurimi quoque ex principibus utriusque regni convenerant, et legati regis Romanorum . . . ut de via Ierosolymitana communi consilio tractaretur : quo Vir Domini colloquio sic detentus est per biduum illud . . . "

[2] " Ipsa die venimus Barrum super Albam . . . tribus a Clara-Valle millibus distans. Quinta igitur feria Vir sanctus Missarum solemnia celebravit in ecclesia sancti Nicolai . . . Ipsa die dispensator bonus multiformis gratiæ Dei fuit redditus Claræ-Valli."—*Vita Prima,* VI. xiii. 44 (*Pars* iii), *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 401.

[3] " Paucos dies Claræ-Valli faciens Pater sanctus, ne intromitterentur infirmi, fratrum quieti providens, interdixit."—*Vita Prima,* VI. xiv. 45 (*Pars* iii), *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 402.

[4] " Stampis negotio Ierosolymitanæ expeditionis, et regni Franciæ, tam ipse quam cæteri qui convenerant, intendebant." *Op. cit.* 50 (*Pars* iii), *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 404.

[5] " Feria quinta egredientem Molismense cœnobium Hominem Dei. . . . "—*Vita Prima,* VI. xv. 53 (*Pars* iii), *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 406.

[6] Vacandard, *op. cit.* xxix. The first recorded halt on this journey was made at Trèves. " Sexto Kalendis Aprilis,

The MSS. preface this third part with a covering letter addressed by Geoffrey to Hermann, Bishop of Constance, who had accompanied Bernard on the journey described in the first part.

Amongst the letters of Bernard there are three which are concerned with the affairs of Samson, Archbishop of Rheims. This prelate, the fiftieth occupant of the see, was appointed in 1140 after an *interpontificium* of two years, due to factional disturbances in the city, arising out of the enmity between Louis le Jeune and Theobald, Count of Champagne.[1] The earliest of the three letters, written in or about the year 1138, was addressed to Innocent II, drawing his attention to the plight of the archdiocese, and begging his intervention.[2] The second letter, written, it would seem, immediately after the election of Samson, commends him cordially to the Pope as one whose fidelity deserves the highest recognition, and the difficulty of whose circumstances imperatively demands some signal mark of Papal favour.[3] The third letter,

ingrediente Viro Dei Treverim," etc.—*Op. cit.* xvj. 54 (*Pars* iii), *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 407. The Codex Paris. 17639 ends immediately before Chapter xvj, which, together with Chapter xvij, is found only in Codex Paris. 14655 and in the printed editions.—Waitz, *op. cit.* 136.

[1] "Civium tumultu, innatoque Ludovici VII odio in Theobaldum Campaniæ comitem."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 84. The story of Samson will be found in this context in *Gallia Christiana*; he occupied the see until his death in 1161. Migne notes (CLXXXV. Coll. 371 sq.): "Apud Sammarthanos Rainaldo a Pratis anno 1137 vita functo, successisisse ponitur, ac diem ultimum clausisse anno 1161, apud Alberici chronicon; ex cœnotaphio autem anno 1160."

[2] "Cadit in interitum Remensis Ecclesia . . . unica spes ejus Innocentius. . . . Primum itaque esse credimus, ut maturetur electio, ne insolentia Remensis populi disperdat si quid residuum est, nisi in brachio excelso furori ejus resistatur."—S. Bern. *Epist.* CCCXVIII.

[3] "Commendamus, non tanquam de cæteris, sed vere præ

dated some six years later, remonstrates with Eugenius III (in terms which sufficiently express Bernard's estimate of the character of Samson) for having forbidden the archbishop the use of the *pallium*, on the ground that he had, together with other prelates, exceeded his rights by the act of crowning Louis le Jeune at Bourges for the service of the Second Crusade.[1]

It was in response to the request of this friend of Bernard that, at some date before the death of Samson in 1161, Philip, a monk of Clairvaux, made one whole of the three parts of the *Liber Miraculorum*.[2] The original MS. of Philip has disappeared. It is possible that Bernard's disciples, possessing already in the fourth book of the *Vita Prima* what seemed to them to be the substance of the sixth book, and in addition

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cæteris unum . . . Honoretur, quoniam vas est in honorem. Sentiat, quod in vobis est, non frustra se honorificare ministerium suum; non frustra pollere his moribus quibus honoretur Deus, ornetur Ecclesia."—S. Bern. *Epist.* CCX.

[1] "Parcat vobis Deus! Quid fecistis? Faciem hominis verecundissimi confudistis; et cujus laus est in Ecclesia, ipsum in facie Ecclesiæ humiliastis . . . Tollerabilius, fateor, habuissem interdici mihi Missarum celebrationem, quam Archiepiscopo pallii usum."—S. Bern. *Epist.* CCXLVII. 1 and 2. "Anno sequenti VII cal. April. pallii usu privatus est ab Eugenio III papa, quod in urbe Bituricensi Ludovico VII coronam imposuit, et in ecclesia ejusdem urbis interdicta divina officia celebrasset cum episcopis Suessionensi, Atrebatensi. . . . Quod pontificis decretum ægerrime tulit S. Bernardus Sansonis amicissimus . . . præsertim quum nihil præter jus et privilegia Remensis ecclesiæ usurpasset, principumque conventus pro expeditione Ierosolymitana id prorsus ab eo extorquere videretur."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 86. *an.* 1146.

[2] "Rogasti igitur, ut scribam vobis quæ comperta habeo de miraculis patris nostri, amici vestri."—Philip. de Claravalle *Præfatio*, ad Samsonem, *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 372. Philip was a Liègois. Cf. *Vita Prima*, VI. xi. 35 (*Pars* iij): "Leodii mansimus, dum Philippus noster ea quibus tenebatur implicitus, sæcularia negotia consummaret."

the *Epistola Gaufridi* [1] and the document dispatched from Spires on January 3rd, 1147, took the less account of its value.[2] Happily, however, an early copy of it found ultimately a home at Clairvaux in circumstances of some interest. Approximately in the year 1180, Peter, eighth Abbot of Clairvaux, was visiting the Abbey of La Valroy in the diocese of Rheims.[3] In his company was a monk of Clairvaux, by name Herbert,[4] a person of sufficient enterprise and intelligence to discover among the books of the monastery a large quantity of documentary material concerning the miracles of Bernard, which had not been embodied in the story of his life.[5] This material appears to have been unknown at Clairvaux, and the enthusiastic Herbert was sufficiently fortunate as to obtain leave

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[1] *Vide* p. 16, *supra*.

[2] Vacandard, *op. cit.* XXIX.

[3] La Valroy was founded in 1150 from Igny, and was thus a granddaughter of Clairvaux. It was in the district of the Ardennes.—Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 117.

[4] Mabillon and Migne identify this Herbert with Herbert of Torres, the writer in 1178 of the three books *De Miraculis*. The question is whether the latter did not leave Clairvaux to become Archbishop of Torres very soon after he had written the *De Miraculis*; the *Chronicon Clarevallense*, describing him as "qui fuerat abbas de Moris," records both events under the same year, 1178. Moreover the *De Miraculis* is, as historical material, in a different category from the *Liber Miraculorum*; it is, as will be seen, in the category of the legendary.

[5] "Invenimus autem ibidem (*sc.* in monasterio Vallis-Regis) miraculorum sancti Bernardi multitudinem copiosam, quæ propter legentium tædium in codice vitæ ejus inseri non potuerunt." —*Narratio Herberti, ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 369. This *Narratio* is printed in the editions before the *Præfatio* of Philip of Clairvaux at the beginning of the sixth book of the *Vita Prima*. It is found only in the Codex Parisiensis 17639, which describes it as *Capitula de novo miraculo ab Abbate Herberto viso et scripto, quo Liber Miraculorum non modice commendatur*.—Waitz, *op. cit.* 121.

to take it away with him and to have it transcribed there.[1] After almost miraculous preservation from destruction by water, when the youth who carried it and other valuables was, with his horse, submerged at a ford on the way,[2] the precious *Liber* arrived at Clairvaux to become the parent of eleven other copies, several of which are of the twelfth century.[3] Later editors have not hesitated to enrol the *Liber Miraculorum* as the sixth book of the *Vita Prima*, recognizing in it the portrait of Bernard, no less as the preacher of the Second Crusade than as the wonder-worker; the function of the former having been essential to the purpose of his travels, whereas that of the latter was merely accidental thereto. Indeed, such was the personal humility of the Abbot of Clairvaux that he would have forbidden, when he had the right so to do, and deprecated, when he had not that right, any portrayal of himself in the *rôle* of a thaumaturge. His own words attest no less.[4] Nor was any attempt, worthy of serious consideration, made either during Bernard's lifetime or during the years immediately following his canonization in 1173, to reflect unfavourably upon him in this connection. In his *Apologeticus*, directed against Bernard and other opponents of his

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[1] "Acceptum mutuo nobiscum ferre curavimus, ut eum transcribi faceremus."—*Narratio Herb. loc. cit.* A different but typically similar story of the preservation of the *Liber* occurs in *Iohan. Erem. Ep. ad Petr. Tuscul.* 2. *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 531 sq.

[2] "Ille Miraculorum liber, cum tamen cæteris aqua imbutis atque submersis esset immistus, ita repertus est incorruptus et siccus," etc.—*Narratio Herb. op. cit.* Col. 371.

[3] Hüffer, *Bernard von Clairvaux*, I. 99 sq.

[4] "Nisi forte beatos prædicat sermo divinus, qui mortuos suscitant . . . miraculis coruscant; et non magis pauperes spiritu, mites, lugentes. . . ."—S. Bern. *In Fest. S. Martin. Ep. Serm.* 16.

master, Berengarius, Abélard's disciple, a mere dialectician of the schools, speaks, *more suo*, contemptuously of the miracles of the Abbot of Clairvaux; later, however, when brought to book, he appears to have excused himself as a trifler in such controversy.[1] The twelfth-century Welshman, Walter Map, a clever master of the *burlesque*, was no more sound a critic than was Berengarius; largely a *chronique scandaleuse*, the *De Nugis Curialium* is not a work in which to look for an estimate of such a personality as that of Bernard.[2]

THE *VITA SECUNDA*

Among the disciples of Bernard who were privileged by early association and frequent later intercourse with the Saint was Alan, Bishop of Auxerre. Educated at Lisle, he afterwards became a monk of Clairvaux. For twelve years he ruled as first Abbot of Larivour, and was subsequently, in 1152, elected to the bishopric of Auxerre, a dignity which he resigned about 1167.[3] The rest of his life seems to have been spent partly at Larivour and partly at Clairvaux, at which latter

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[1] Berengarius is unknown, except for his *Apologeticus* and two other *opuscula*. These writings are given by Cousin in Appendix II of his *Petr. Abælardi Opp.* II. His style is forcible but scurrilous; Cousin writes of the *Apologeticus*: "Quamvis ejus oratio nugis abundet et scurrilibus jocis, vi quadam dialectices et eloquentiæ passim enitet." Later Berengarius could admit: "Si quid in personam hominis Dei dixi, joco legatur, non serio."—*Epist. ad Episc. Mimat.*

[2] Cf. *De Nugis Curialium*, *Dist.* I. xxiv, pp. 42 sq. Ed. Camden Society, 1850.

[3] "Adhuc adolescens, solitudinis amore ductus Claramvallem secessit, ubi a B. Bernardo habitu monastico donatus est; et postmodum in abbatem Ripatorii anno 1140 cooptatus, rexit usque ad 1152, quo exeunte post duodecim annos regiminis factus est episcopus Autissiodorensis."—*Gall. Christ.* XII. 598. Cf. *ibid.* XII. 293 sqq.; Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 59. Larivour is about two leagues from Troyes.

place he died on October 14th, about the year 1181.[1] Now Godfrey de la Roche, Bernard's cousin, had in 1161 resigned the see of Langres and retired to Clairvaux, where he died in 1164 or 1165. He had been third Prior of Clairvaux, after ruling Fontenay as first abbot.[2]

Alan was during the time of his episcopate at Auxerre, as well as afterwards, in close touch with Clairvaux [3] and probably obtained a considerable amount of information from Godfrey. The *Vita Secunda* was written at some time between 1167 and 1170, for its *Prologus* is addressed to Pontius, who

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[1] "In quadam ecclesia oppidi famosi in Flandria, quæ Insula nuncupatur, a puero educatus sub Beato Bernardo in hac Claravalle habitum religionis suscepit. Postea primus abbas factus est monasterii, quod Ripatorium nominatur. Cui per annos duodecim præsidens Domino cooperante sategit . . . Anno vero novissimo vitæ B. Bernardi ab ecclesia Altissiodorensi in episcopum concorditer est electus . . . Peractis demum in episcopatu tredecim annis . . . ad suam rediit Claramvallem . . . Obiit autem prid. Idus Octob. . . . circa annum Domini MCLXXXI."—Henric. *Fascicul. SS. Ord. Cisterc.* II. xlj. 4. "Anno Domini 1165, episcopus Alanus Autissiodorensis episcopatum dimisit, et apud Ripatorium reversus est, et frequenter morabatur apud Claramvallem, ubi post modum obiit."—*Chronicon Clarevallense.* The *Chronicon Autissiodorense, ap. Monument. German. Hist.* XXVI. 239, gives the date of Alan's resignation of the see as 1167, a date accepted by Vacandard (*op. cit.* xlij).

[2] "Cognatus B. Bernardi. Hic de primis filiis ejus, qui præsens cœnobium in suo sanguine fundaverunt."—Henriquez, *op. cit. ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 1556. "Anno Domini 1161 . . . episcopatum dimisit . . . Anno Domini 1164 . . . mortuus est apud Claramvallem . . . VI Idus Novembris."—*Chronicon Clarevallense. Gall. Christ.* (IV. 492) and Henriquez (*loc. cit.*) give 1165 as the year of his death.

[3] "Illud (*sc.* Clarevall. Cœnob.) sæpe visitans."—Henriquez, *loc. cit.* The XLIst *Distinctio* of the IInd *Liber of* Henriquez is to be found in Tom. II at pp. 407 sqq. Bruxellæ, 1623. The first six chapters are given by Migne (P.L. CLXXXV. Coll. 1549 sqq.).

ruled as fifth Abbot of Clairvaux for five years from 1165, and Alan had not resigned his see until 1167.[1] In such an atmosphere as that in which he found himself the memory of Bernard exercised an imperious influence over Alan ; moreover, a certain standard of conduct was beginning to establish itself as proper to so revered a person as was the great abbot. Thus the *Vita Secunda* is, as compared with Geoffrey of Auxerre's Recension B, historically on a lower plane, although internal evidence suggests that Alan did avail himself of this latter document. But the characteristic story of William of St. Thierry's visit to the sick saint is robbed by Alan of the humour of Bernard's estimate of his physician. Evidently it was considered to reflect unfavourably upon Bernard that he should have spoken as the *Vita Prima* reports.[2] Much in the same way we find inserted in the *Vita Secunda* the somewhat stilted passage which has been called the *Testamentum S. Bernardi*, the language and the feeling of which are scarcely suggestive of Bernard ; [3] there is about it the touch rather of conscious edification. Alan makes an effort to provide a chronological accuracy

[1] " Autissiodorensis ecclesiæ humilis quondam sacerdos."—*Vita Secunda, Prolog.* " Anno Domini 1165 . . . factus est abbas Claræ vallis vir nobilis et religiosus, Poncius Alvernensis, qui erat abbas in Grandisilva. Et iste quinquennio præfuit."—*Chron. Clarevall.* Cf. *Gall. Christ.* IV. 801. The Abbey of Grand-Selve was founded in the diocese of Toulouse in the district of the Haute-Garonne by Gerald de Salis, about the year 1114, as a house of Black Monks. In 1145 it freely conformed itself to the Cistercian order " in linea Clarevallensi."—*Gall. Christ.* XIII. 127 sq. ; *Janauschek, Orig. Cisterc.* I. 81 sq. ; Manric. *Annal. Cisterc.* II. 79.

[2] Cf. *Vita Secunda*, VIII. 24 and *Vita Prima*, I. vij 33.

[3] *Vita Secunda*, XXX. 82. It is difficult to imagine Bernard, almost in *articulo mortis*, commending to his monks as the first rule which he had himself followed in life : *Minus sensui meo quam alterius credidi.*

better than that of the *Vita Prima*, of which his work is, as it were, an *abrégé*. For example, when Geoffrey of Auxerre records the ill-fated expedition to Jerusalem in 1148–1149 before he records the Synod of Sens at which Abélard was condemned in 1140, Alan corrects the historical disorder.[1] And yet we are, in the *Vita Secunda*, passing into the atmosphere of hagiography proper which is mainly determined by considerations of edifying portraiture. There have survived eleven MSS. of the *Vita Secunda*, of which one, of the twelfth century, was discovered at Châtillon-sur-Seine and is now at Fontaines-lès-Dijon.

THE *VITA BERNARDI* OF JOHN THE HERMIT

If it be true that the *Vita Secunda* of Alan, finished, as it may well have been, but three years before the canonization of Bernard in 1173, bears traces of the invasion of the legendary into its record, we shall scarcely be surprised to find that the narratives of Bernard's *Life* written after that event decline in a marked degree from the high historical level attained by such a work as Geoffrey of Auxerre's Recension B of the *Vita Prima*. The different level is indicated by the acceptance, as true, of unfounded or of coloured reports, whether of the miraculous or of the non-miraculous, which are mainly to be attributed to the play of the imagination around the character of a great prophet of practically world-wide reputation, recently raised to the altars of the Church ; the declension does not essentially consist in the unwarrantable intrusion of the miraculous.

It was when some eight or more years had elapsed since the canonization of Bernard, that John the

[1] Cf. *Vita Prima*, III. iv and v, and *Vita Secunda*, XXVI. 71, XXVII. 75.

Hermit took in hand to write what has been called the *Vita Quarta*.[1] John, called the Hermit, not by reason of his occupation but as a surname,[2] was so far qualified to write the *Life* of Bernard as that in his youth he had known many of the Saint's disciples.[3] His work was undertaken at the request of Peter Papiensis, Bishop of Tusculum and a Cardinal,[4] and at that of Herbert, Bishop of Torres in Sardinia,[5] who were seeking information concerning the Abbot of Clairvaux. It consisted of two short books, each with its own

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[1] The title *Vita Tertia* is used to describe the *Fragmenta* of Geoffrey of Auxerre.

[2] "Johannes, non conditione, opinor, sed cognomine Eremita (nam hujus appellationis plures in Galliis familias etiamnum superesse accepimus) libros duos scripsit de Vita S. Bernardi, Petro Cardinale episcopo Tusculano et Herberto Turritano in Sardinia Archiepiscopo hortatoribus."—Chifflet. *Genus Illustr. S. Bernard.* (*In Vit. S. Bern. a Ioan. Erem. Præfat.*) 94, *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 1253 sq.

[3] "Petis a me, miles Christi Herberte, fiducia et charitate qua me diligis, ut de vita vel actibus venerabilis patris beati Bernardi, propter quod ego apud quosdam discipulorum ejus olim assiduus fueram adhuc puer, aliquid tibi per litteras edam"—*Vita Quarta, Epist. Sec. ad Herbert. ad init.* Chifflet identifies him with John, Prior of Clairvaux, relying apparently on the authority of Goswin, a monk of Clairvaux, who writes (*Prolog. Libri Miraculorum ad Gerard. Everbaci. Ab.*): "Joannes, prior Claræ vallis, pulchrum volumen fecit componi, in quo miracula diversorum, et visiones, ad ædificationem legentium continebantur descripta."—*Ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 1255 sq. Cf. *Chron. Clarevall.* A.D. 1178.

[4] "15. Petrus Papiensis ab Alexandro III creatus est Episcopus Cardin. Tusculanus 1178. Sub Lucio III vicaria opera Romam administravit, usque ad tempora Clementis III in cujus Pontificatus exordio e vivis exemptus est."—*Italia Sacra*, I. 231. Chifflet gives 1178, "mense Decembri," as the date of Peter's creation as Cardinal, adding, "qui Joanni Eremitæ tum primum innotuisse videtur, cum haud multo post venit in Gallias legatus apostolicæ sedis."—*Ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 1253 sq.

[5] *Vide*, pp. 32 sq., *infra.*

prologue; the whole being prefaced by two letters, one to Peter and the other to Herbert. John writes entirely in good faith, but it is plain that, in the circumstances, he writes as it were an *apologia*, a good honest *apologia*, for the canonization of Bernard. He is alive to the danger, even to the suspicion, which is attached to the work of a hagiographer; he even suggests the possibility of downright dishonest record.[1] In the brief prologue to the second book, which deals with the *virtutes* and the *miracula* of the Saint—the first book having dealt with his earlier years—he writes with a full sense of responsibility, but urges that the incredulity of the world does not justify him in suppressing facts, however marvellous.[2] The really valuable historical contribution which he makes consists in certain details, recorded in the first book, derived from Robert de Châtillon, Bernard's cousin german, concerning the family of the Saint.[3] His reference to Robert as having lived for over sixty-seven years under monastic discipline enables us to date the *Vita Quarta* at approximately 1181, for, as will be seen later,[4] Robert's novitiate began probably in the spring of

[1] "Qui vitas sanctorum, fratres charissimi, vult scribere, debet se primum de mendaciis et iniquitatibus emendere. Non enim amant sancti mendacia, sed damnant eos qui ea loquuntur . . . scribere propono . . . quæ vera, simplex et sancta confirmat relatio seniorum . . . Te igitur invoco, Verbum, per quod omnia creata sunt, ut des mihi, sicut decet, de beato Viro dicere quæ vera sunt."—*Vita Quarta, Prolog. in Vita S. Bern.*

[2] "Perversi sunt filii Adam, sicut fuerunt ab initio. Sed quid inde? Debemus propter incredulitatem eorum silere? Non: quin potius nobis pro posse nostro laborandum est in agro Dominico."—*Op. cit. Prologus in Sec. Libro.*

[3] "Referente quodam abbate religiosissimo, nomine Roberto, qui magis quam sexaginta septem annis monasterio sub jugo regularis disciplinæ vixit; nepos siquidem ejusdem matronæ (*sc.* Aalaysiæ), de qua volumus pertractare."—*Vita Quarta*, I. 5.

[4] *Vide* p. 141, *infra.*

1114. On the other hand, we recognize a tendency in the second book to aggravate the miraculous element. For example, neither in the *Vita Prima*, nor in the *Liber Miraculorum*, nor in the *Vita Secunda* do we find any mention of the raising of the dead by Bernard, whereas John the Hermit does record a miracle of this class.[1]

Of the *Vita Quarta* only one MS. is known, and its history is interesting. Chifflet describes a volume seen and handled by him at Clairvaux, during the rule of Abbot Claude l'Argentier,[2] which contained the *Vita Quarta* of John the Hermit, the *De Miraculis* of Herbert of Torres—to which we shall presently refer—the *Vita Beati Petri Juliacensis*[3] and other works of a like character. This he believed to be the *pulchrum volumen* of which Goswin wrote in his *Prologus*, already cited, and to contain the original MS. of the work of John the Hermit. It is known that, after the Revolution, this MS., together with other precious relics from Clairvaux, found a home in the Bibliothèque de la Ville at Troyes, whence it was abstracted in the first half of the last century by the notorious bibliomaniac, Count Libri-Carrucci. Happily, after a considerable lapse of time, it was discovered in the safe keeping of the Laurentian Library at Florence.[4]

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[1] *Vita Quarta*, II. 6.

[2] 1624–1653.—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 813 sq. Cf. Chifflet. *op. cit.* 95, *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 1255 sq.

[3] An English Black Monk of Molesme, who accompanied Robert of Molesme to Cîteaux and returned with him to Molesme. —Chifflet. *op. cit.* 97 sqq., *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 1255 sq.

[4] The *Vita Quarta* and the other documents referred to, as well as the *Chronicon Clarevallense*, were published at Dijon in 1660 by Pierre François Chifflet, a Jesuit Father, in his *Sancti Bernardi Clarevallensis Abbatis Genus Illustre Assertum*, the greater part of which was reproduced by Migne (CLXXXV. Coll. 1199 sqq.). The Laurentian MS. 1809 is the Fonds Libri

THE *DE MIRACULIS* OF HERBERT OF TORRES

Reference has been made to Herbert, Archbishop of Torres in Sardinia, as having shared with Peter, Bishop of Tusculum, the responsibility of instigating John the Hermit to write the *Vita Quarta*. Herbert was born in Spain at Leon, not far from the Benedictine Abbey of Carrezeda. In his early years he appears to have fallen under the influence of a holy monk by name Dominic, who had obtained leave to exchange the cœnobitic life of Carrezeda for that of a solitary.[1] Herbert has much to say of Dominic, and it is reasonably to be supposed that it was the teaching and example of the latter which led him to enter the Cistercian Order. We find him a monk at Clairvaux under the rule of Fastredus, the third Abbot, which lasted from 1157 to 1162.[2] Later he became third Abbot of Mores,

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1906. It consists of eight separate *cahiers*, the fourth of which contains the *Vita Quarta* in a thirteenth-century hand. Speaking of the *Chronicon Clarevallense*, which is the fifth *cahier*, Delisle writes: "Le manuscrit de Libri est probablement celui dont s'est servi le Père Chifflet," a statement equally applicable to the *Vita Quarta*. Cf. Léopold Delisle, *Notice sur des MSS. du Fonds Libri conservés à la Laurentienne, à Florence*, 98 sqq.

[1] "In regione Hiberiæ, haud procul ab urbe Legionensi constat esse solitarium quemdam, virum sanctitatis excellentissimæ, virum plane Dominicum non minus re quam nomine, qui . . . de domo Carrezedæ . . . annuente prælato tanquam strenuus miles ad singulare certamen egressus est."—*De Miraculis*, II. 1. Carrezeda was founded by King Bermund II in 990; in 1203 it was, with its own consent—for it had adopted Cistercian manners—transferred by Innocent III to the Cistercian Order.—Mabillon. *Annal. Bened.* IV. L (liij), *an.* 990. 69 sq. Janauschek, *op. cit.* 209.

[2] "Anno Domini 1157 . . . electus est Fastraudus Camberonensis, de cujus vita et promotione miraculosa continetur in libro Miraculorum domni Herberti . . . Anno Domini 1162 . . . abbas Clarævallis domnus Fastraudus promotus est in abbatem Cistercii."—*Chron. Clarevall.* "Pluribus annis eidem (*sc.* Fastrado) in sua mensa ministravi."—*De Mirac.* II. 25.

in the diocese of Langres, a daughter-house of Clairvaux,[1] whence he returned again to Clairvaux, remaining there in the capacity of chaplain to Abbot Henry, until he became Archbishop of Torres.[2] In the year 1178, very shortly before he left Clairvaux for Sardinia, he wrote his *De Miraculis Libri Tres*.[3] Of this work there remain seven MSS., which afford internal evidence of several revisions at an early date, probably at the hand of Herbert himself.[4] Taken as a whole the *De Miraculis* is in the category of the legendary. Not only are many of the facts reported purely subjective in character, but facts, in themselves wholly objective, are on no sufficient grounds charged with the thaumaturgic. Several of the experiences recorded, and evidently recorded as typical, are of a kind which would call for psychotherapy, were it available.[5] The colouring throughout is, as we should expect, Spanish.[6]

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[1] "Furnum apud Trecas positum, qui erat domus nostræ de Mores."—S. Bern. *Epist.* CCCCXIX. 1153, Sept 8th, is the accepted date of the foundation of Mores.—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 842 sq.; Janauschek, *op. cit.* 135. *Epistle* CCCCXIX. dates itself in the year 1152; it must thus have been preliminary to the foundation.

[2] The ancient *Turris Libyssonis*; it gave a name to one of the four districts into which the island was divided during the Pisan period; it is the modern Porto Torres in the Gulf of Asinara.

[3] "Anno Domini 1176, abbas Altæcumbæ domnus Henricus, in abbatem Clarevallensem promotus, quatuor circiter præfuit annis . . . Anno Domini 1178 . . . domnus Herbertus monachus Claræ vallis, qui fuerat abbas de Moris, librum Miraculorum apud Claramvallem conscripsit . . . 'domnus Herbertus, qui aliquando capellanus domni Henrici exstitit abbatis, magnum satis diversarum visionum et miraculorum edidit volumen: qui postea Dei providentia Sardiniæ fuit archiepiscopus.' Hæc Gosuinus."—*Chron. Clarevall.* "Libros . . . composuit apud Claramvallem, ex Chronico Claræ vall."—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 843.

[4] Cf. Hüffer, *op. cit.* I. 164 sq.

[5] Cf. e.g., *De Miraculis*, I. iij.

[6] Cf. e.g., *De Miraculis*, II. xlij; III. xxxij.

In the first book he gives several instances of the edifying lives and deaths of *conversi* or lay monks, of whom by the time that he wrote there was probably a large number at Clairvaux.[1] He also writes, after his manner, enthusiastically of the circumstances attending and following the delivery of Bernard's *De Conversione ad Clericos* at Paris in 1140 ; [2] it was a great occasion, doubtless, and worthy of proud and sympathetic record, specially at Clairvaux itself.

THE *EXORDIUM MAGNUM CISTERCIENSE*

It will be necessary to give a brief analysis of the contents of this document, which, both as regards its subject and its source, is a composite work. It consists of six books, called *Distinctiones*, each of which is divided into chapters. The first four *Distinctiones* breathe the spirit of Clairvaux, and were probably written there. The second *Distinctio* deals specially with the life of Bernard, and gives a list of the first eight Abbots of Clairvaux ; in chapter xxxiij the death of Abbot Peter, the eighth abbot, is recorded : this reasonably dates the first two books at not earlier than the year 1186.[3] In the first *Distinctio* the author

[1] *De Miraculis*, I. xvij, xviij and xxix. " Ut etiam de conversis taceam, quorum longe copiosior erat numerus, quam monachorum."—*Exord. Magn. Cisterc.* VI. ix, *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 450.

[2] *De Miraculis*, II. xvij.

[3] " Consummatis igitur laudabiliter diebus vitæ suæ, debitum universitatis exsolvit."—*Dist.* II. xxxiij. " Anno Domini 1186, mortuus est apud Claramvallem . . . abbas Petrus monoculus."—*Chron. Clarevall.* " VIII. Petrus I cognomento Monoculus ex Nangio ad an. 1182 stirpe nobilis, ex abbate Igniaci invitus ad clavum abbatiæ Claræval. admovetur an. 1179 . . . Fusniaci extremum spiritum exhalavit IV. Cal. Nov. 1186 ex chronico Claræ vallis." He was later translated to Clairvaux, and buried in the same tomb as Gerard, the sixth abbot.—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 803.

professes to be himself a monk of Clairvaux, in touch with the *seniores* of his house, and founds his claim to credibility upon this fact.[1] That again in the sixth *Distinctio* he refers to the same fact is, perhaps, some evidence of unity of authorship throughout the work.[2] The fifth and sixth *Distinctiones* draw largely from German sources, in the main from Eberbach, a monastery of which the writer speaks with profound veneration.[3] Eberbach was a daughter of Clairvaux in the diocese of Mayence, from the city of which it lay distant some two miles down the river in the beautiful Rheingau on the Nassau bank; its foundation as a Cistercian house was laid in the year 1131.[4] Here it was that the *Exordium* was finished. Manriquez speaks of its authorship as unknown, but Tissier ascribed it to Conrad, a monk of Clairvaux, who from 1213 to 1226 was fifth Abbot of Eberbach.[5] Tissier based his opinion upon a MS. from Foigny, now in the Bibliothèque Muncipale de Laon and numbered 331, which he used for the purpose of his edition of the *Exordium*.[6] Vacandard speaks of this as the accepted

[1] "Si quem vero movet quod Claravallensium tantum, et non etiam Cisterciensium seniorum mentionem fecimus, noverit nos ut Ecclesiæ Clarævallis alumnos, nostrorum seniorum sacra studia familiarius et efficacius investigare potuisse."—*Dist.* I. x.

[2] "Cum in Clara-Valle disciplinis claustralibus et sacri Ordinis observantiis subditi essemus."—*Dist.* VI. ix, *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 451.

[3] "Hæc itaque domus . . . celsitudinem reverendæ matris suæ usque hodie æmulatur: ita ut in cunctis Germaniarum provinciis velut speciale religionis et honestatis speculum Everbacensis fulgeat Ecclesia."—*Dist.* V. xvij.

[4] Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 20 sq.

[5] "*Series Abbatum* . . . V. Conradus I. pie ac religiose præfuit annis 13, quibus peractis spiritum Deo reddit 1226, XIV. cal. Octobris."—*Gall. Christ.* V. 656.

[6] "Fusniacensis codex hæc habet verba: *Istum librum composuit quidam abbas, Conradus nomine, Everbacensis cœnobii, qui fuit monachus Clarævallis.*"—Bertrand. Tissier. *Biblioth.*

view, and inclines to think that the work was finished at Eberbach during the rule of Abbot Theobald, Conrad's predecessor.[1] The apology for the *Cisterciense Institutum*, as representing a reform of monastic life, which we find at the end of *Distinctio* VI, is precisely what we should expect to emanate, after the lapse of a century of highly successful *propaganda*, from a stronghold like Eberbach, of which Janauschek does not hesitate to speak as " celebratissima *Eberbaci* abbatia."[2] The author professes, in the passage in question, that he writes, first, in order to inform adequately his own Cistercian brethren as to the greatness of Cîteaux and of Clairvaux and, next, in order to refute the calumnies against the Cistercians so maliciously circulated by the Black Monks ; he claims to rely upon records quoted in the earlier portion of the work in order to prove the falsity of such charges as are brought.[3] The testimony to which he refers is, undoubtedly, that of the *Exordium Parvum* of St. Stephen Harding,[4] which is, in large

P.P. Cisterc. I. 13. Tissier was a learned Cistercian of Bonne-Fontaine, where his work was published in 1660. For Bonne-Fontaine, founded in 1154, see Janauschek, *op. cit.* 138. Tissier's edition was reproduced by Migne in the *Patr. Lat.* CLXXXV. Coll. 995 sqq.

[1] Vacandard, *op. cit.* XLIX. *Gallia Christiana* (V. 656) gives 1201–1213 as the period of Theobald's rule.—Cf. Rossel, *Eberbach,* I. 141.

[2] Janauschek, *op. cit.* I. 20.

[3] " Et primo quidem, ut fratribus nostris . . . de initio Ordinis nostri certam notitiam traderemus . . . secundo vero ut monachis Nigri Ordinis calumniandi occasionem tolleremus, qui coram sæcularibus et rerum ignaris derogant Ordini nostro, dicentes eum ex præsumptione cœpisse, et Patres nostros, qui primo de Molismo egressi sunt, absque licentia abbatis sui egressos fuisse, quod quam falsum sit, principia hujus voluminis plenissime testantur."—*Dist.* VI. ix.

[4] *Exordium Cœnobii et Ordinis Cisterciensis, ap.* Migne, CLXVI. Coll. 1501 sqq. It was probably submitted to Callixtus II at Saulieu, on December 23rd, 1119, by St. Stephen Harding, on the occasion of the Papal ratification of the *Charta Charitatis.*

measure, the source of the first *Distinctio*. The remaining three *Distinctiones*, II–IV inclusive, reproduce in substance much of what we find in the *De Miraculis* of Herbert of Torres. Taken as a whole, the work makes no independent contribution of any great value to the *Life* of Bernard, and not very much of it lies outside the domain of the legendary. Certain *Excerpta* from *Distinctiones* I, II, IV and VI are, however, given both by Mabillon and by Migne as the seventh book of the *Vita Prima*.

THE *CHRONICON CLAREVALLENSE*

The Laurentian MS. 1809 (Fonds Libri 1906) contains the *Chronicon Clarevallense*. It is the fifth *cahier* out of eight, all of which were published by Chifflet in 1660.[1] It is in thirteenth-century script and is fully described by Delisle.[2] The record covers the years 1147–1192; thus it begins with the preaching of the Second Crusade and ends with a reference to the peregrinations of the soul of Everard, a priest of Cologne, which are recorded by Goswin. Its author is unknown, but he was, undoubtedly, a monk of Clairvaux who had access to its archives, such as they may

"Au XII siècle, comme aujourd'hui, lorsque l'on presentait des Statuts au Souverain Pontife à fin qu'il les revêtit de son autorité suprême, on y joignait un exposé historique expliquant leur origine et motivant leur utilité. Si nous ne nous trompons point, *l'Exordium Cisterciensis cœnobii* nous paraît avoir été cet exposé présenté au pape Calixte II par saint Étienne."—Guignard, *Mon. Prim. de la règle Cisterc.* XXX. The text given by Guignard is that of the MS. Dijon 378, which was inventoried at Cîteaux by Abbot Jean de Cirey in 1480, and is dated by Guignard, on internal evidence, during the period 1224–1236.—*Op. cit.* LIX sq.

[1] Cf. pp. 31 sq., note 4, *supra*.

[2] "Un autre cahier (fol. 45–52), haut de 212 millimètres et large de 148, copié au XIII° siècle, nous a conservé la chronique de Clairvaux pour la periode comprise entre les années 1147 et 1192."—L. Delisle, *op. cit.* 99.

have been.[1] The date of the composition of the *Chronicon* may be inferred from the record of the coronation of Philip II under the year 1179, together with the statement that he reigned about forty-four years ; [2] thus it could not have been written earlier than 1223. Although the last record of the *Chronicon*, that namely of the soul-wanderings of Everard in 1192, not only is more than thirty years short of being contemporary, but also illustrates the writer's incapacity to distinguish between the historical and the legendary ; and although the chronology is somewhat doubtful,[3] nevertheless the fact that the work was based in some measure upon documents filed in the archives of the monastery gives it an authority of its own. The legend is frankly legend, and we are in no danger of mistaking it for history. Knowing that no miracle of resuscitation from the dead is narrated by any contemporary historian of the *Life* of Bernard,[4] it is interesting to observe the record of such a miracle fully developed in the *Chronicon*. Under the year 1147 we read that " blessed Bernard . . . raised the dead man, whose story is told in Dom Herbert's Book of Miracles." The particular

[1] Under the years 1170 and 1171 we read of Abbot Geraldus, " hujus vitam habemus," and of Gundric the Hermit, who died in England, " cujus vita habetur." Again, under the year 1190, reference is made to a miraculous image, " quam (*sc.* de qua) invenies in fine Miraculorum libri Clarevallensis, de Armario psalteriorum."

[2] " Et eodem anno rex Philippus Remis coronatus, XLIV circiter annis regnavit."

[3] E.g. the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury is recorded " Anno Domini 1171 incipiente " (but see R. L. Poole, *Medieval Reckonings of Time*, pp. 41 sq.), whereas it was on Dec. 29th, 1170 ; and the reign of Philip II is usually reckoned as covering, not forty-four, but forty-three years, i.e. the period 1180–1223.

[4] The story of the woman " vitæ reddita," told in the *Vita Quarta*, II. 6, is of a date subsequent to the canonization of Bernard.

incident to which reference is made is not easy to identify. There may be some confusion between Herbert of Torres, the writer of the *De Miraculis Libri Tres*, and the Herbert who discovered at La Valroy the MS. of the *Liber Miraculorum*;[1] in any case, if it be the latter work that is in the writer's mind, the reference may be to the story of the collapse and restoration of the blasphemous archer of Conrad[2] at Spires, told in *Pars* I, v. 20, the language of which is typically such as would be used as a foundation by the mythopœic instinct.[3]

It will, doubtless, have been fully realized that the materials at our disposal for constructing an estimate of the character of Bernard of Clairvaux, in any one of its many aspects, can only be found in a quarry, the rock of which was deposited in an age when the miraculous was regarded as an indispensable test of sanctity. And yet we shall probably have felt how surprisingly restrained, compared with other similar histories, has been the demand made upon—shall we say?—our credulity. The subject is a man who was, in a high degree, in advance of his age. We draw from Bernard's correspondence, and his correspondence is,

[1] Mabillon and Migne, as we have seen, identify them. *Vide* p. 23, note 4, *supra*.

[2] Conrad is interesting as having been the first Hohenstaufen to sit upon the Imperial throne; he reigned from 1138–1152 as Conrad III.

[3] "Sagittarius quidam serviens ducis Conradi, cum nobis Dux occurrisset, detrahebat verbo crucis, et sanctum Dominum blasphemabat dicens: 'Quia non plus ille signa facit quam ego.' Ubi ergo ad imponendam manum infirmis Pater substitit, accessit homo, et videt cui derogaverat: statim cecidit exanimis, et diu jacuit sine sensu . . . Obstupuimus omnes, et advocavimus Patrem: nec prius ille miser surrexit, quam descendens et orans erigeret eum."—*Vita Prima*, VI (*Pars* I). v. 20. Waitz (*Monumenta Germ. Hist.* XXVI. 128) dates this incident January 3rd, 1147.

we find, albeit deeply spiritual, often even mystical, always that of a skilful administrator, of a sound judge of men and matters. Our Saint was singularly shrewd. And, when we pass from what he wrote himself to what others wrote of him, we have in the contributions made to the *Vita Prima* by William of St. Thierry, Geoffrey of Auxerre and Arnald of Bonneval, contemporary testimony capable, much of it, of standing the test of the criticism proper to the standards of modern scientific history; for, as we gaze upon Bernard's portrait, as wrought by such artists, what arrests us is neither garniture, nor dramatic setting nor air of mystery—*cachotterie*, as the French would say—but irresistibly the man himself, desperately human enough completely to fill any canvas on any wall of the gallery of life.

II

EARLY DAYS

A STRONGHOLD set upon a little hill, rising out of a gracious champaign itself some 800 feet above the level of the sea; a feudal stronghold, the patriarchal home of a great and noble family under whose benign protection lay safely sheltered at its feet the few folk to whom its lord was at once the father and the chieftain. Less than two miles off, to the south-east, the city of Dijon, capital of the ancient Duchy of Burgundy,[1] at the confluence of the Ouche and the Suzon, with beyond it, the forest of Cîteaux, where, a few years

[1] "Non longe a mœnibus positis jam ob oculos versabatur hoc castrum, et subjectus ejusdem nominis pagus. Nam in cacumine collis existens lætissimum aperit in omnem per circumfusam late regionem intuitum. Et ex urbe Divionensi quidem sensim campi elatiores per horæ medietatem accedunt, donec sub ipso castro sese clivus magis præcipiti declivitate attollit in sublime, invitatque advenarum frequentiam tum ad curiositatis, tum pietatis gustum." —Meglinger. *Iter Cisterciense*, 31. Dom Joseph Méglinger, a Cistercian monk of Wettingen, wrote his *Iter Cisterciense*, in the form of a letter, addressed to the General Chapter of the Order which he attended in the year 1667. It is to be found *ap.* Migne, *P.L.* CLXXXV. Coll. 1565 sqq. "Au point culminant de la colline, à l'ouest, était situé le château de saint Bernard, dont il ne reste plus que quelques parties; en avant, un peu plus bas, se trouve l'église du village, dont certaines portions peuvent remonter au XI^e^ ou au XII^e^ siècle. Il paraît certain que c'était anciennement la chapelle du château, et qu'on la devait à la piété de Tescelin, seigneur de Fontaines, et d'Aleth."—*Note sur Fontaines-lez-Dijon*, *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 1633 sq.

later,[1] Robert de Molesme would begin to build the famous abbey which was the cradle of the Cistercian family. To the north the eye ranged over the level pasturage; to the west it was caught by the wooded outposts of the Morvan; to the east it lost itself in the beckoning mystery of the Jura. It was on a winter day, when all nature was mantled in snow, that the present writer made his first pilgrimage to Fontaines-lès-Dijon in company with a stalwart Dominican, whose temperamental activity was, doubtless, accountable for the rapidity of his pace afoot. To this kind guide he owed his introduction to the *Curé* of the place [2] and the consequent privilege of worshipping for a few moments in the little chapel described to him as "le berceau de saint Bernard." [3]

And indeed, here it was that in the year 1090 Bernard was born.[4] A topographical reconstruction of the Château de Fontaines-lès-Dijon [5] suggests that

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[1] A.D. 1098.

[2] The present population of the village is between four and five hundred in number. The chapel of the castle, which expanded into the parish church, "dépendait originairement de l'église de Saint-Martin-des-champs-lez-Dijon, donnée, en 801, aux chanoines réguliers de S. Étienne de Dijon; on pense qu'elle fut érigée en cure en 1451."—*Note sur Fontaines-lez-Dijon, ap.* Migne, *loc. cit.* Col. 1635.

[3] "Quelques chartes nous apprennent que, dès le commencement du XV^e^ siècle, on avait établi, à Fontaines, une confrérie sous le titre de saint Bernard; et il est probable que ce fut dans le courant du même siècle que la chambre où était né cet illustre Abbé fut convertie en chapelle."—*Note sur Fontaines-lez-Dijon, ap.* Migne, *loc. cit.* Col. 1636.

[4] This date is approved by Vacandard, as resulting from an examination of the chronology of Recension B of the *Vita Prima*.—Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard*, I. 1, note, I^re^ édition. Later editions of this work refer the reader to the first edition.

[5] The name *Fontaines* is probably to be explained by the existence of a pool at the foot of the escarpment, the relic of ancient springs.

it consisted of a double enclosure, the outer line of which was formed by a moat, whence rose the steep acclivity of the hill, while the inner line was on the south, the west and the north-west, sufficiently protected by the yet steeper ascent to the central plateau; on the east and the north-east of this central plateau the position was dominated by three towers. In the midst stood the great *donjon*, the dwelling-place of the family and of the domestics, the rooms on the ground-floor of which were reserved for guests and for the sick. It was in one of these somewhat sombre chambers, now, as we have observed, converted into a chapel, that Bernard was born of parents whose lineage was that of the highest Burgundian nobility.[1]

Tescelin, his father, surnamed Sorus,[2] i.e., the Red, was of the ancient stock of the Chevaliers de Châtillon, members of which held feudal lordship over a vast extent of territory both in Burgundy and in Champagne.[3] It is not possible to state, on any good historical grounds, the name of either of Bernard's grandparents on his father's side. Tescelin's mother appears to have married, as her second husband, Fulke de Sarceau, and to have borne to him several sons.[4] Chifflet, relying

[1] The topography of the place is admirably elucidated by the Abbé Chomton in his *Saint Bernard et le château de Fontaines-lès-Dijon*, which originally appeared in the *Bulletin d'histoire et d'archéologie religieuse du Diocèse de Dijon*, 1890, 1891.

[2] "Cognomento Sorus; quo nomine vulgari lingua subrufos et pene flavos appellare solemus."—*Fragmenta ex Tertia Vita, auct. Gaufrido*, I. Cf. the word *sorel* as applied to the colour of a horse, the diminutive of the Old French *sor*.

[3] "In territorio Lingonis civitatis situm est castrum, nobile quondam et inclytum valde, cui Castellio nomen est, multos habens proceres armis strenuos, sed multo magis legalitate præcipuos; inter quos excellebat Tescellinus quidam."—*Fragmenta ex Tertia Vita*, I.

[4] "Quidam nobilis de Acromonte . . . Guido nomine, Fulconis filius, de Sarcellis . . . Iste Guido de Acromonte fuit ex parte

upon the *Chronicon Granceianum*, suggested her to have been Eva de Grancey.[1] He further founded the possibility that she was Eva de Châtillon upon an inventory of deeds of the houses of Saffre and of Fontaines, drawn up at Beaune by F. de la Place, Notary Royal, in 1632; in illustration of which we may note that the first item is of the year 1100, and speaks of two persons, Allette de Montbar and Eve de Chastillon, as "Dames de Saffre et de Fontaines."[2] We are, however, scarcely upon historical grounds in going further than in accepting her second marriage to Fulke de Sarceau, otherwise known as Fulke d'Aigremont, the father by her of Guy d'Aigremont and of other sons—this fact alone being sufficient to establish, beyond question,

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matris frater Tesselini Sori de Fontanis, qui fuit pater B. Bernardi Clarevallensis Abbatis et habuerunt alios fratres, Holdoinum qui fuit avus Alberici de Esmanciis, et Hainonem de Collumbejo patrem Abelini."—*Ex Chron. Alberic. Triumfont. an.* 1110, *ap. Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XIII. 690. Cf. Chifflet, *De Illustr. Gen. S. Bern.* 416, *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 1395.

[1] "Haud spernendum videtur (*Chron. Granc.*) quod ait prisco ævo de Granceiani toparchæ filiabus unam fuisse ex marito dominam de Fontanis. Nam in castro Granceio adhuc exstat vetusta turris, quæ dicta est post omnem memoriam et hodieque dicitur Turris S. Bernardi. quod ipse, dum cognatos suos subinde inviseret, in ea diversatus fuisse credatur."—Chifflet, *De Illustri Gen. S. Bern.* 639, *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 1515. The difficulty is that Guido, Bernard's eldest brother, may have married a wife of the house of Grancey. Chifflet is thus compelled to conclude "quod ex matre Tecelini, aut Guidonis uxore, alterutra fuerit aut Eva de Castellione, aut Granceiana."—Chifflet, *loc. cit.* The *Chronicon Granceianum* is a XVIth-century genealogical work. Cf. Chifflet, *Opuscula Quattuor*, 171, for the Grancey tradition. For Bernard Britto's statement as to the wife of Guido see p. 65, note, *infra*.

[2] "1. *Vieille lettre de l'an mille cent, ou se parle d'une Allette de Montbar, et de Eve de Chastillon, Dames de Saffre et de Fontaines.*"—Chifflet, *op. cit.* 585.

the nobility of Tescelin.[1] There can be no doubt but that he was related, both by blood and by marriage, to many of the great families of Burgundy; for example, to that of Josbert de la Ferté, Vicomte de Dijon, Seneschal of Hugh of Champagne.[2]

In the veins of Bernard's mother, Aleth, there flowed the ducal blood of Burgundy.[3] Chifflet concluded either Bernard de Montbard or Homberge des Riceys,[4] the parents of Aleth, to have been of the stock of the Counts of Tonnerre, who represented the ancient ducal line.[5] He founded his conclusion upon various statements as to tenure of land, which are given in the *Chronicon S. Petri Vivi Senonensis*.[6] To Bernard and

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[1] Chifflet (*op. cit.* 417, *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 1395), after quoting the Chronicle of Alberic of Troisfontaines, writes: "Non potuit nobilissimas tot familias Tecelinus aut consanguinitate aut affinitate attingere, si non et ipse fuit perquam nobilis."

[2] "Virum nobilem, et ipsius (*sc.* Bernardi) quoque secundum carnem propinquum, Josbertum de Firmitate."—*Vita Prima*, I. ix. 43.

[3] "Aalays, filia Bernardi Montis-Barri domini, viri potentis et magni secundum sæculi dignitatem, et ex antiquorum, sicut asserunt multi, Burgundiæ ducum generositate trahens originem."—*Vita Quarta*, I. 1. The form of the name varies. *Vita Prima*, I. 1, i has *Aleth*; the *Fragmenta ex Tertia Vita*, I., read: "Huic sane uxor erat, Elizabeth nomine, ex optimo genere Burgundionum"; in the inventory of deeds, drawn up by de la Place, we found *Allette* as a possible variant.

[4] Although she is so called in *Gall. Christ.* IV. 729, it is not certain that she was "des Riceys." Cf. Vacandard, *op. cit.* 5.

[5] "Fuisse Humbergam S. Bernardi aviam maternam, aut certe ejus conjugem Bernardum, ex comitibus Tornodorensibus, ut qui in eorum alodo, nempe in Pauliaco et Rietiaco villis partem saltem aliquam possederint."—Chifflet, *op. cit.* 411.

[6] *E.g.* "Anno 1065. Bernardus miles, et dominus castri Barrimontis, in capitulo Sancti Petri Vivi, et uxor ejus Humberga, competierunt et receperunt ab abbate Gerberto et a monachis ejusdem loci quartam [partem] de villa quæ dicitur Rictiacus, et de ecclesia ejusdem villæ, similiter et de villa quæ Pauliacus vocatur."—*Ap.* Chifflet, *op. cit.* 423. The negotiations are

Homberge were born also five sons: Andrew, who died young; Raynard, who as Seigneur de Montbard was the founder of Fontenay; Gaudry, Milo and another Andrew, as well as another daughter, whose name is not credibly known. To some of these we shall have occasion to refer later.

In addition to the Seigneurie de Fontaines Tescelin possessed a house at Châtillon-sur-Seine, as well as other minor properties.[1] He was, however, a man, not only of considerable substance, but also of irreproachable probity; a lover of the poor, a pious worshipper of his God, a faithful follower of every righteous cause. Among the kindred of the Chevaliers de Châtillon none was more distinguished as *legalitate præcipuus* than was he.[2] What he was to his equals and to his subordinates such was he also to his overlord, whose friendship and confidence he possessed to the full alike at the Court and on the battlefield.[3]

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interesting, as Molesme was a few years later founded "in territorio S. Petri Vivi prope Riciacum." Cf. *Gall. Christ.* IV. 729.

[1] The *Note sur Fontaines-lez-Dijon, ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 1633 sq. *n.* (104), speaks of Tescelin as "le premier de ceux que l'on connaît avoir pris le titre de seigneur de Fontaines."

[2] "Possessionibus dives, suavis moribus, amator pauperum maximus, summus pietatis cultor et incredibilem habens justitiæ zelum."—*Fragmenta, loc. cit.* Geoffrey's description, in this context, of the members of the house of Châtillon as *legalitate præcipui*, is noteworthy, as it were that of an outstanding racial mark, specially prominent in the person of Tescelin. *Legalitas* is used in the sense of *probitas*.—Du Cange, *s.v.* The eminence of the house of Châtillon is indicated by the reference to Fontaines as *minus castrum* and to Tescelin as *indigena Castellionis*; "Erat quidem indigena Castellionis, sed dominus minoris castri, cui Fontanæ nomen est."—*Fragmenta, loc. cit.*

[3] "Numquam armis usus est, nisi pro defensione terræ propriæ, aut cum domino suo, duce scilicet Burgundiæ, cui plurimum familiaris et intimus erat: nec aliquando fuit cum eo in bello, quin victoria ei proveniret."—*Fragmenta, loc. cit.* Two charters of Hugh II, Duke of Burgundy, in which Tescelin is

Aleth was originally intended for the cloister; and with this end in view her education had been shaped by Bernard de Montbard, until at the age of fifteen she presented precisely that type of piety, culture and good breeding which appealed to Tescelin.[1] There being no good reason for the rejection of such a suitor, Aleth passed from her paternal home to the hearth of the Seigneur de Fontaines, under whom and in the fear of God she ruled her domestics, brought up her children in sacred learning and relieved the poor.[2]

John the Hermit, who, as we have seen,[3] obtained much information concerning the family of the Abbot of Clairvaux from the monk Robert, Aleth's nephew, gives unstinted praise to that gracious lady for her benevolent ministry to the needy, no vicarious ministry, whether fulfilled in the cottage or in the guest-house (*per ecclesiarum xenodochia*).[4]

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associated are given in Plancher, *Histoire de Bourgogne*, I. xxxv sq. Others in which he is named are quoted by Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, I. *passim*.

[1] "Filiam suam idem Bernardus . . . litteris erudiri voluit, ut in futuro monacham faceret . . . cum ad quintum decimum ætatis suæ annum pervenisset, a Tescelino . . . requisita est ad conjugium. Pater vero ejus, quoniam honeste negare non potuit, requisitam concessit."—*Vita Quarta*, I. i.

[2] "Subdita viro, sub eo secundum timorem Dei domum suam regebat, operibus misericordiæ insistens, filios enutriens in omni disciplina."—*Vita Prima*, I. i. 1.

[3] P. 30, *supra*.

[4] "Non servis, non aliis utens ministris ad hæc officia peragenda, sed per semetipsam hoc agens, ad eorum habitacula veniebat, et unicuique quod opus erat præbens, per ecclesiarum xenodochia devotissime discretis infirmis ministrabat; ollas eorum extergens, cibos porrigens, calices diluens, et alia cuncta faciens, quæ servis et ministris mos est serviliter operari."—*Vita Quarta*, I. v. For *xenodochium* see Lenoir (*Architecture Monastique*, II. 396), who writes: "La plus ancienne mention d'une hôtellerie, *xenodochium*, se trouve dans la Chronique de Fontenelle; on y lit que Saint Ansbert, abbé de ce monastère

Of the seven children of Tescelin and Aleth Bernard was the third, the names, in order, of the remaining six being Guy, Gerard, Hombeline or Homberge,[1] Andrew, Bartholomew and Nivard. Each child was at birth offered to God by the mother's own hands; Aleth was unwilling to delegate this solemn function to the women customarily gathered at the child-birth.[2] This resolve to do her duty *propriis manibus* seems to have impressed the monk Robert as a characteristic of his saintly aunt.[3] William of St. Thierry records with satisfaction that her children were fed from her own breast.[4] Of such a mother we should scarcely have expected otherwise. The same writer tells the story of a dream which Aleth dreamed shortly before the birth of Bernard. She seemed to be bearing in her womb a white dog-pup, tawny red on the back, which barked furiously. Terrified by the vision she took counsel with a holy religious, who reassured her by his forecast that her child would prove to be the watchdog of the house of God, and would, moreover, lick the wounds of those who stood in need of healing.[5] Con-

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de 678 à 684, y bâtit une maison des hôtes voisine de la porte d'entrée."

[1] "Humbergæ nomen, ex quo per μείωσιν Humbelina."—Chifflet, *op. cit.* 411. Cf. *Vita S. Petr. Prior. Juliacens.* X: "Sancta Humberga soror Beati Bernardi."

[2] "Alias vero mulieres, quæ ad partum ejus convenerant, sicut mos est, oblationem supradictam facere non permittebat."—*Vita Quarta*, I. iij.

[3] "Singulos mox ut partu ediderat, in illa ipsa angustia et afflictione corporis, et in contritione cordis, de terra propriis manibus elevans sursum, Domino offerebat."—*Vita Quarta, loc. cit.* Cf. *Vita Prima*, I. i. 1.

[4] "Quasi cum lacte materno materni quodammodo boni infundens eis naturam."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[5] "'Domus Dei custos futurus, magnos pro ea contra inimicos fidei editurus est latratus. Erit enim egregius prædicator, et tanquam bonus canis, gratia linguæ medicinalis in multis multos

formably with this prediction Bernard was regarded as, in a special sense, a child of promise; he received the name of his maternal grandfather,[1] and the ceremony of his offering to Almighty God was, in order to invest it with the greater solemnity, postponed by Aleth to a later date than was usual in the case of her other children.[2] As infancy passed into childhood Bernard, as did all the offspring of his mother, experienced the discipline of a simplicity of life, which proclaimed the destiny rather of an eremite than of a courtier.[3] Aleth had herself, we must remember, been educated for the cloister.

When Bernard was of about the age of eight, that is to say about the year 1098, Aleth removed herself and her boy to Châtillon-sur-Seine, where existed a famous school, or rather, group of schools,[4] in charge

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morbos curaturus est animarum.' "—*Vita Prima*, I. i. 2. · There is, probably, a reminiscence of this in the *Sermo de S. Bernardo*, 17, of Geoffrey of Auxerre, fourth Abbot of Clairvaux: "Utinam non degeneres vos præbeatis filios tanti Patris, sed candidos in sanctimonia, subrufos in patientia, latrantes zelo Ordinis." The references in Bernard's Epistles which are suggested by Mabillon, followed by Migne, appear to be doubtful.

[1] "Elizabeth filium hunc, divino edocta oraculo, tenerius omnibus dilexit. Unde et patris sui ei nomen imposuit, Bernardum eum vocans."—*Fragmenta*, I.

[2] "Non tam cito quam alios sed in provectiore ætate Domino obtulit. Obtulit utique, et hoc devotissime fecit."—*Vita Quarta*, I. iij. This ceremony must not be confused with the dedication of *pueri oblati*, of which we shall treat later. Cf. pp. 135 sqq., *infra*.

[3] "Quamdiu sub manu ejus erant, eremo magis quam curiæ nutriebat, non patiens delicatioribus assuescere cibis, sed grossioribus et communibus pascens."—*Vita Prima*, I. i. 1.

[4] "Erat autem in Castellione ecclesia, tunc quidem sæcularium canonicorum, sed in maxima disciplina viventium, in qua Bernardus est educatus a parvulo."—*Fragmenta*, II. "Unde et quam citius potuit, in ecclesia Castellionis (quæ postmodum ipsius Bernardi opera a sæculari conversatione in Ordinem regulariium canonicorum promota cognoscitur) magistris litterarum

of the Canons Secular of St. Vorles,[1] founded about the end of the tenth century by Bruno de Rouci, Bishop of Langres.[2] Here, living in his father's house, and in the constant society of his mother, until her death about the year 1106,[3] Bernard passed some twelve years as an apt pupil in the usual course of a liberal education of that day.[4] This course consisted of the well-known *trivium* and *quadrivium*, the former of which included grammar, rhetoric and dialectic, and the latter arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. It is probable that Bernard did not study exhaustively all the subjects named; he had, doubtless, his predilections, and

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tradens erudiendum, egit quidquid potuit, ut in eis proficeret."—*Vita Prima*, I. i. 3.

[1] More usually called "Ste-Marie-du-Chateau." "Suburbana est urbis cognominis ad Sequanam, ordinis S. Augustini abbatia, olim S. Maria de Castro extra urbem appellata, et ut fertur urbe Castellionensi prior . . . Cum vero tempore Caroli-calvi imperatoris reliquiæ S. Vorlii, quæ in pago Marcenay diu sepultæ jacuerant, in illam fuissent translatæ, permixtim S. Mariæ et B. Vorlii titulo gaudere cœpit, ususque obtinuit ut parochia S. Vorlii vocitetur, quamquam cum de canonicis agitur in veteribus scriptis, raro S. Vorlii, sed fere semper canonici S. Mariæ de Castro legantur."—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 770.

[2] Bruno de Rouci occupied the see from 981 until about 1016.—*Gall. Christ*, IV. 548 sqq. St. Vorles or St. Verolus (*cir. an.* 600) was a holy priest venerated as patron of the Church of Châtillon. His relics were translated thither by Bruno, and a *Collegium Clericorum* was there, if not actually founded, generously endowed by the same bishop; "adjunctis etiam suæ largitioni quorundam religiosorum muneribus Clericorum."—*Acta Bolland.* Jun. III. *die* xvij. 382 sqq. The Schools of Châtillon enjoyed for long their great reputation. William of Armorica could sing of Châtillon a hundred years later than Bernard's day: ". . . nobilium pater, instructorque virorum."—Guill. Britonis-Armorici *Philippidos* I. line 591, *ap.* Brial, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XVII. 130.

[3] *Vide* p. 53, *infra*.

[4] "In litterarum quidem studio supra ætatem et præ coætaneis suis proficiebat."—*Vita Prima*, I. i. 3.

CHATEAU OF CHÂTILLON-SUR-SEINE.

facing p. 50.

William of St. Thierry tells us that he had already acquired something of that sense of the due subordination of intellectual pursuits which distinguished him in later years.[1] What we should now term Classics would have come under the head of grammar, and, although he had apparently but very slight knowledge of Greek,[2] Bernard was widely read in the Latin poets, as well as in the masterpieces of Cicero ; reminiscences from the latter, from Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan and Statius are found throughout his writings. Twice in one chapter of the *De Conversione ad Clericos* he quotes from the *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* of Boëthius, honouring the author, a contemporary, and possibly a friend, of St. Benedict, with the title of *Sapiens*.[3]

The character of Bernard was meanwhile developing on other sides also ; indeed, his interest in literature appears to have been primarily moved by the desire to study the Sacred Scriptures, and the extent to which his own writings, on every subject, breathe their spirit

[1] " Sed in rebus sæcularibus jam mortificationem futuræ perfectionis velut naturaliter inchoabat."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.* " Quid ergo docuerunt vel docent nos Apostoli sancti ? . . . non Platonem legere, non Aristotelis versutias inversare ; non semper discere, et nunquam ad veritatis scientiam pervenire. Docuerunt me vivere. Putas, parva res est scire vivere ? Magnum aliquid, immo maximum est."—S. Bern. *In Fest. SS. App. Petr. et Paul. Serm.* I. 3.

[2] Bernard's use of the term " sortita " in the *De Diligendo Deo*, IV. 12, suggests familiarity with the meaning of the word κλῆρος. *Select Treatises of S. Bernard of Clairvaux* (Williams and Mills), 25. Cf. also his treatment of the passage quoted by Boëthius from Euripides.—*Vide infra*, note 3.

[3] " Vapor furentes stimulis agat . . . nimis tenaci feriat icta corda morsu."—*De Convers.* viij. 13. Cf. Boët. *De Consol. Phil.* iii. *Metrum* 7. " O doxa, doxa, ait Sapiens, in millibus mortalium nihil aliud quam aurium inflatio vana."—*Op. cit.* viij, 14. Cf. Boët. *op. cit.* iii. *Prosa* 6. In the latter passage Boëthius quotes the Greek of the *Andromache* of Euripides, of which Bernard gives a fair rendering, transliterating the word δόξα.

places him upon a plane apart.[1] We may picture him, in his boyhood, as he is described by William of St. Thierry and by Geoffrey of Auxerre, of a kind and yet dignified manner towards all comers, taciturn, subordinate, a lover of home, averse from general society, singularly thoughtful, modest beyond belief.[2] The *Fragmenta* give us the impression of an almost morbid shyness ; and certainly the fact that they testify, as does the *Vita Prima*, to an *incredibilis verecundia* as characteristic of Bernard, reveals to us the secret of the after eloquence of the *Doctor Mellifluus* ; [3] it was founded, not upon any acquired rhetorical art, nor upon any natural combativeness of disposition, but solely upon an inward spiritual fervour ; disciplined and yet spontaneous ; inevitable and yet deliberate.

And even as this shrinking youth was, during these early years, storing the heat of an utterance, which could be, as occasion needed, either comforting or scorching, so was he also subduing silently, imperceptibly, the wills of companions who would in due time prove themselves to be amongst the boldest and the least calculative of his disciples ; such as Hugh of Mâcon, afterwards founder and first Abbot of Pontigny, and later Bishop of Auxerre,[4] and Godfrey de la Roche,

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[1] " Litterarum etiam studio deditus, per quas in Scripturis Deum disceret et cognosceret."—*Vita Prima*, I. j. 3.

[2] " Amans habitare secum, publicum fugitans, mire cogitativus, parentibus obediens et subditus ; omnibus benignus et gratus, domi simplex et quietus, foris rarus, et ultra quam credi posset verecundus ; nusquam multum loqui amans."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.* For a remarkable instance of his meekness in later life see *Vita Prima*, III. vij. 25.

[3] " Puer . . . incredibilis verecundiæ, ita ut loqui coram aliis aut ignotis præsentari viris, ipsa sibi morte molestius judicaret."—*Fragmenta*, p. 2^b, *ap.* Vacandard, *op. cit.* 15 sq.

[4] " Dominus Hugo Matisconensis, nobilitate et probitate morum, possessionibus et divitiis sæculi ampliatus. . . . Hic

Bernard's kinsman, who, after distinguished service to religion, died and was buried at Clairvaux in the year 1165.[1]

No student of Bernard's writings can fail to recognize at once the tenderness and the dignity of his devotion to the Mother of God, and we do not doubt the substantial truth of the tradition which points to his having learnt such at his own mother's side before the famous image venerated in the Chapel of Ste-Marie-du-Château, which formed the most ancient portion of the Church of St. Vorles at Châtillon.[2]

Bernard was of the age of about sixteen or seventeen years when his mother died. It was during the vacation of 1106 or 1107, in the month of August, that Aleth was vouchsafed a premonition of her approaching end. John the Hermit tells us the story as he heard it from

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audiens de conversione socii et amici charissimi, flebat quasi perditum, quem sæculo mortuum audiebat. . . . Datis itaque dextris in sodalitium novæ vitæ, longe dignius veriusque facti sunt cor unum et anima una in Christo, quam in sæculo ante fuissent."—*Vita Prima*, I. iij. 13. *Vide* pp. 68 sq. and 108, *infra*.

[1] *Vide* pp. 67, 110, 129 sq., *infra*. The family "de la Roche" is frequently named in charters of the period. Godfrey is sometimes referred to as "de Châtillon." The particular La Roche Petit suggests to be La Roche Taillée; but why not La Roche-Vanneau, a place not very far distant from Châtillon-sur-Seine? Cf. Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne*, I. 323 sq. Godfrey's sister, Agnes de la Roche, became first Abbess of Puits-d'Orbe (*Putei-Orbis*), founded in 1129 by Raynard of Montbard, the founder of Fontenay, of which latter Godfrey was first abbot. Puits-d'Orbe was in the neighbourhood of Fontenay.—*Gall. Christ.* IV. *Instr.* 160 sq.

[2] Cf. Chomton, *Saint Bernard et le château de Fontaines-lès-Dijon* (*Bulletin*, mars-avril, 1891), 155, *note* 4. The reference to S. Maria de Castro in *Gallia Christiana* IV. 770 is quoted above, p. 50, note 1. It was the scene of the supposed miracle of the feeding of Bernard from our Lady's breast, a miracle nowhere related in any of the biographies of the Saint.—Mabillon. *Opp. S. Bern.* II. 1231, *not.* b. Ed. 1690.

her nephew, the monk Robert of Châtillon. It was her pious custom, on the Feast of St. Ambrosinian,[1] patron of Fontaines, to entertain as many of the clergy as were within reasonable distance of the château.[2] September the First was the appointed day. This year, alas! it was heralded in gloom. Aleth had not long before revealed to her husband, her children and the rest of her family, the conviction that it was the will of God that she should die upon the patron's day. On the very eve she was attacked by fever, but there was to be no postponement of the customary hospitality. Even when, on the day itself, she had received Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction, and there was no doubt as to her death being imminent, she insisted that the festivities should be held.[3] Calling to her side her first-born, Guy, she bade

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[1] "Alius (quam Ambrosius Mediolanensis episcopus) fuit Ambrosius (frequenter *Ambrosinianus* appellatus) vici et castri Fontanarum patronus, quem solemnibus officiis a loci domina quotannis coli solitum longe est verisimilius. Hujus Ambrosiniani natale etiamnum agitur, et post omnem memoriam actum est in parochia Fontanensi Kalendis Septembris: quod probant S. Stephani Divionensis quingentis amplius abhinc annis confectæ tabulæ."—Chifflet, *De Illustri Gener. S. Bern.* 414. Cf. *Tabular. S. Steph. Divion.* II. 44, *ap.* Chifflet, *op. cit.* 457.

[2] "Consuetudo autem ejus erat per singulos annos in solemnitate sancti Ambrosiniani universos clericos, quos invenire poterat, congregare, eosque in eadem die, ad honorem Dei . . . solemniter reficere."—*Vita Quarta*, I. 6.

[3] "Universos clericos secundum consuetudinem ad cœnam convocari fecit."—*Vita Quarta, loc. cit.* Fontaines was parochially dependent upon the Church of St. Martin-des-Champs-lès-Dijon, where there was a College of Canons; "colonie de chanoines, sortie de l'abbaye de S. Étienne de Dijon, ils chantaient les heures canoniales, préchaient et administraient les sacrements à S. Martin et à Fontaines."—*Note sur Fontaines-lez-Dijon, ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 1636, *note* (105). These canons probably formed the bulk of the *universi clerici* present at Aleth's death-bed. Chifflet quotes a charter *ex autographo S. Stephani Divionensis*, of the year 1120, which refers to "ecclesiam illam Beati

him gather around her bed the assembled company. To them she announced her immediate dissolution. As they intoned the customary litany her voice, so long as breath remained, was heard. At the moment of the supplication, " By Thy Passion and Thy Cross deliver her, O Lord," she raised her hand to make the sacred sign, and in the very gesture passed to the charge of the angels.[1]

At the request of Jarenton (*Gerannus*), the Abbot of St. Benignus at Dijon,[2] her remains received the high honour of burial in the crypt of his church, whither they were borne with due solemnity. As the procession approached the city they were met by the whole body of citizens, and by them escorted to their resting-place with the tenderest respect.[3] Chomton finds the exact spot of her sepulchre on the left-hand side, as one

Martini de Prato, quæ dicitur in Campania, cum capella sua quæ est in superiori Fontanarum villa."—Chifflet, *op. cit.* 521.

[1] " Necdum cessans a supplicatione, in ipso mortis articulo, in manus Domini commendans spiritum suum, elevata manu signans se signaculo sanctæ crucis, in pace reddidit spiritum."—*Vita Quarta, loc. cit.* William of St. Thierry gives us the detail : " Elevans manum signavit se, et emisit spiritum, ita ut manum non posset deponere quam levaverat."—*Vita Prima*, II. ij. 5.

[2] Jarento (*al.* Jerunto, Gerento, Ferento) was the forty-third abbot of the Benedictine house of St. Benignus of Dijon. He had been Prior of Casa-Dei (La Chaise-Dieu) in Auvergne (diocese of Clermont) and became Abbot of St. Benignus in 1077.—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 679 sqq. Mabillon assigns his death to the year 1112.—Mabillon. *Annal. Bened.* V. lxxij (xx.) 567. " Conditor (S. Benigni) fuit Gregorius episcopus Lingon. qui S. Benigni martyris corpus inventum in decentiorem locum transtulit, et super ipsius tumulum basilicam ædificavit, et consecravit an. 535 ex chron. Lingon., ibique multos aggregavit monachos ex vicino, ut verisimillimum est, Reomaensi (Moutier S. Jean) monasterio."—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 668.

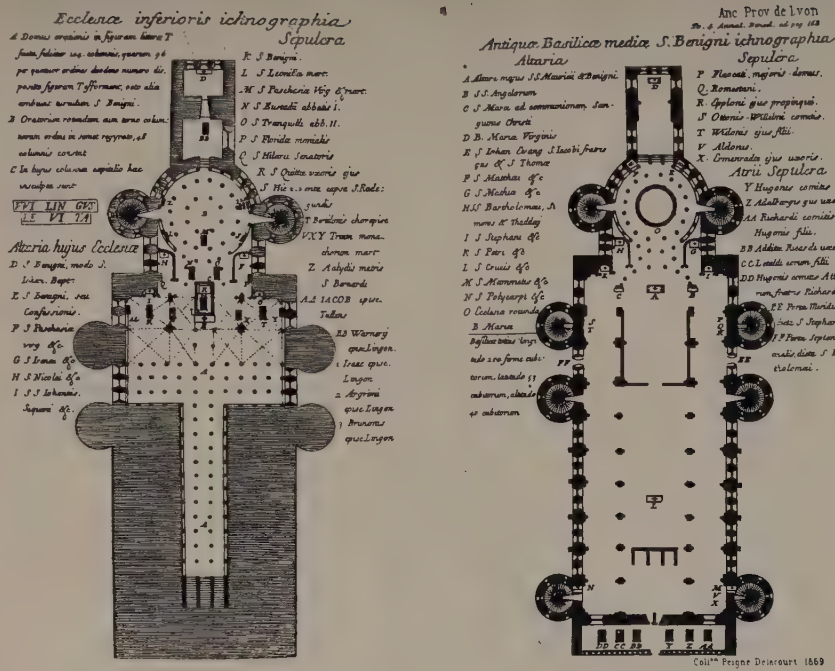
[3] " Et ecce omnis populus exierat obviam eis cum crucibus, et cereis, atque ingenti gaudio et veneratione, sacri corporis glebam usque ad basilicam beatissimi atque clarissimi martyris Benigni, prosequentibus ibidem universis, cum magna reverentia illam sepulturæ dederunt."—*Vita Quarta*, I. 8.

descends the northern stairway to the crypt of the old circular eleventh-century building destroyed at the Revolution, the basement of which was excavated in the year 1858, revealing the remains of two concentric ranges of piers, which doubtless surrounded the shrine of St. Benignus; the shrine itself was probably left uncovered by the floor of the *superior ecclesia*.[1] In the year 1250 the remains of Aleth, on a request by Abbot Lexington to Innocent IV., were translated to Clairvaux, and there re-interred before the altar of St. Saviour in the Abbey Church.[2] Deeply as Bernard could not have failed to feel the anguish of his bereavement, the records which have come down to us say little concerning any outward manifestation of his grief. The intercourse between mother and son was, we may well believe, no broken thread. Both William of St. Thierry and John the Hermit tell the story of an apparition of Aleth vouchsafed to Bernard, in support of his resolution to enter into the religious life. It is true that the latter writer speaks of frequent previous appearances to Andrew,[3] but it is plain that, upon the critical occasion in question, the appearance was of peculiar solemnity, and was intended as a manifestation of special encouragement to Bernard at the outset of

[1] Cf. Chomton, *op. cit.* 132 sqq.

[2] "Nobilis Domina et Deo devotissima, Aleydis . . . translata est usque Claramvallem, et coram altari Sancti Salvatoris collocata, anno Domini millesimo ducentissimo quinquagesimo, XIV Kalendis Aprilis."—Henrici *Fascic. Sanctor. Ordinis Cisterc.* II. *Dist.* xlj. 4. The altar of St. Saviour was the central altar of the eastern apse of the church. "Ex parte sinistra, sub arcu lapideo, intra murum tumulata, jacet B. Alix, mater S. P. N. Bernardi, cum superposita ejusdem effigie, quam sculpi curavit Joannes de Cabilone, Abbas Clarævallis, ann. MDVIII."—Flammeng, *Sépultures du chœur de l'église de Clairvaux*, V. *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 1767.

[3] "Per quinque annos apparere consuevit filio suo Andreæ."—*Vita Quarta*, I. 8.



PLAN OF THE CRYPT & CHURCH OF ST. BÉNIGNE-DE-DIJON.

facing p. 56.

his career.[1] Was it in grateful recollection of such encouragement that every day during his novitiate at Cîteaux Bernard recited the seven penitential psalms for the repose of his mother's soul ?[2]

His biographers give us the impression that the death of his mother constituted for Bernard, as it were, his coming of age. No longer was he to enjoy, in any material sense, the almost daily intercourse which had meant so much to him for some seventeen impressionable years. It was, moreover, an event which occurred at a period in life which is, for every young man, a crucial period. Bernard was, as a youth, possessed of exceptional charm, both of outward form and of inward disposition ; his endowments were naturally rich, and they had been carefully husbanded. The portrait, drawn at this age by Geoffrey of Auxerre, recalls for us, as aptly descriptive of Bernard, the expressive epithet twice applied to the infant Moses in the Holy Scriptures ;[3] he was "exceeding fair" ; his distinctive quality was *urbanitas*, and that in a very high degree. Upon his moral rectitude it is superfluous to dwell. A gracious suavity of manner veiled in him no incapacity for affairs, no feckless improvidence, no indifference to the value of passing opportunities.[4] He had all that

[1] "Et cum de conversione sua tractare inciperent fratres apparuit (Aalays) beato Bernardo, dicens : 'Fili Bernarde, noli timere, sed viriliter age, et efficaciter imple quod inchoas, quia opus Dei est."—*Vita Quarta, loc cit.* Cf. *Vita Prima*, I. iij. 10. William of St. Thierry does not relate the words spoken to Bernard, but it should be remembered that John the Hermit drew upon the family traditions of Robert of Châtillon. The term "opus Dei" is significant.

[2] "Dum beatus Bernardus adhuc novitius esset, solitus erat quotidie pro anima matris suæ septem psalmos pœnitentiales in silentio dicere."—*De Miraculis*, II. xxiij.

[3] *'Αστεῖος.* Acts vij. 20 ; Heb. xi. 23.

[4] "In consiliis providus, in negotiis efficax, numquam tamen minus, quam in otio otiosus."—*Vita Prima*, III. i. 1.

great gift of the successful soldier, the gift of striking hard and striking quickly,[1] implicit in his natural abhorrence of the vice of *singularitas*, which in his earliest extant treatise he was so scathingly to rebuke.[2] And yet his bodily habit was of almost transparent frailty ; of moderate height, of delicate complexion, he presented to the beholder the appearance of something like a precious treasure in a fictile vase.[3]

It is no matter for surprise that great hopes were founded upon the future career of so remarkable a personality ; a destiny, undefined, yet glorious, brooded over his head, like the prophetic halo of saintship, or the impending coronal of royal state.[4] Nor, however, can we expect to find that he escaped, any more than have other chosen vessels, the common lot of early

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[1] " Solent etiam fortissimi milites, audita buccina, ante congressum trepidare ; at, ubi ad prœlium ventum fuerit, spes victoriæ, et timor ne vincantur, reddit intrepidos."—S. Bern. *Epist.* I. 13. We shall refer later to this Epistle, which reveals so much of Bernard as to be a finished portrait of himself, drawn unconsciously by his own hand.

[2] " At prosequebatur gloria fugientem, sicut e regione captantes sese alios fugere consuevit. Proverbium illud in ore ei frequenter, semper in corde ; ' Qui hoc facit quod nemo, mirantur omnes.' Quo nimirum intuitu vitam regulamque communem amplius æmulabatur, nil in suis actibus præferens observantiæ singularis."—*Vita Prima*, III. i. 1. Cf. S. Bern. *De Grad. Humil. et Superb.* XIV.

[3] " Corpus omne tenuissimum, et sine carnibus erat ; ipsa quoque subtilissima cutis in genis modice rubens. . . . Cæsaries ex flavo colorabatur et candido. Barba subrufa circa finem vitæ ejus respersa canis. Statura mediocritatis honestæ, longitudini tamen vicinior apparebat. Alias autem thesaurus iste in vase fictili erat, contrito penitus et undique conquassato."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[4] " Ex hoc Bernardus suo jam more, suo jure victitare incipiens, eleganti corpore, grata facie præeminens, suavissimis ornatus moribus, acri ingenio præditus, acceptibili pollens eloquio, magnæ spei adolescens prædicabatur."—*Vita Prima*, I. iij. 6.

manhood.[1] William of St. Thierry records two instances of attempts, characteristic, alas! of every age in the history of the race, made to seduce him from the path of chastity; unsuccessful attempts repelled with the simple dignity and, moreover, with the consummate skill which we should have expected Bernard to display.[2] The society in which he moved, as an equal with the great nobility, exposed him to occasional intercourse with persons whose morals were by no means strict.[3]

"Having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust," the power of which had been thus so offensively revealed to him, he turned his mind to the remedy which flight to some safer state afforded.[4] The bent of Bernard's thoughts was confirmed by his own experience of the *adolescentiæ stimuli*, which he had felt with shame[5]; and had resisted, so we learn from William of St. Thierry, by means of plunging himself to the neck in the icy water of a neighbouring pool.[6]

It is not to be supposed that Bernard, brought up, as he had been, in a Christian home of piety and purity so exemplary as to be a model of what such a home should be, was unmindful of the great primeval blessing, *Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram*. He had a

[1] "Coluber tortuosus spargebat laqueos tentationum, ac variis occursibus calcaneo ejus insidiabatur."—*Vita Prima*, I. iij. 6.

[2] *Vita Prima*, I. iij. 7.

[3] "Obsidebant autem benignum juvenis animum sodalium dissimiles mores, et amicitiæ procellosæ, similem sibi efficere gestientes."—*Vita Prima*, I. iij. 6.

[4] "Inter hæc tamen cogitans et perpendens, quod vulgo dicitur, non esse tutum diu cohabitare serpenti; fugam meditari cœpit."—*Vita Prima*, I. iij. 8.

[5] "Cum enim aliquando curiosius aspiciendo, defixos in quamdam oculos aliquandiu tenuisset; continuo ad se reversus, et de semetipso erubescens apud semetipsum, in se ipsum ultor severissimus exarsit."—*Vita Prima*, I. iij. 6.

[6] *Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

naturally sane and well-balanced outlook upon life; and his instincts had been so educated as that he regarded wedlock as a holy state.[1] For him the question was essentially a question of vocation; and the memory of his mother, who had from his earliest years dedicated him to an undefined but specially sacred service, was, it would seem, the dominant factor in shaping his decision.[2] There was open to him, under peculiarly favourable conditions, the career either of a soldier or of a man of letters; he was a youth at once of knightly stock and of generous accomplishments; he might be expected to make wise choice of a partner for life, and to found a family worthy of his honourable name. Two external factors played their part in aid of the memory of his mother, the recent foundation of Cîteaux[3] and the encouragement of his maternal uncle Gaudry (*Galdricus*), Seigneur de Touillon, a most distinguished member of the Burgundian nobility.[4] And yet Bernard

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[1] Cf. *Epist.* CXXI, addressed by him to Matilda, Duchess of Burgundy, pleading the matrimonial projects entertained by Hugh of Bèze on behalf of his son. "Quamquam etiam vobis, non solum nullum lucrum, sed et multum videamus ingruere periculum, si quos fortassis Deus conjungere disposuit, per vos disturbari contigerit." Matilda was the wife of Duke Hugh II, who lived from 1102 to 1143, and the daughter of Boso, Count of Turenne.—Petit, *Hist. des ducs de Bourgogne*, I. *généalogie. Vide*, p. 81, *infra.*

[2] "Matris sanctæ memoria importune animo ejus instabat, ita ut sæpius sibi occurrentem videre videretur, conquerentem et improperantem quia non ad hujusmodi nugacitatem tam tenere educaverat, non in hac spe erudierat eum."—*Vita Prima*, I. iii. 9.

[3] "Perfectius vero relinquere mundum deliberans cœpit inquirere et investigare, ubi certius ac purius inveniret requiem animæ suæ sub jugo Christi. Inquirenti autem occurrit Cistercii innovatæ monasticæ religionis nova plantatio; messis multa sed operariis indigens cum vix adhuc aliquis conversionis gratia illuc declinaret, ob nimiam vitæ ipsius et paupertatis austeritatem."—*Vita Prima*, I. iij. 8.

[4] "Vir honestus et potens in sæculo, et in sæcularis militiæ

hesitated, influenced in an opposite direction by the persuasion of his brothers and, doubtless, attracted by the delights which literary pursuits offered to his cultured taste. He even went so far as to entertain the idea of a journey to a school in Germany, and to make arrangements for taking leave of his family; but the memory of his mother intervened in time to prevent this.[1]

It was about the autumn of the year 1111, and the Duke of Burgundy was laying siege to the stronghold of Grancey-le-Château; with him were his vassals,

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gloria nominatus, dominus castri in territorio Æduensi, quod Tuillium dicitur."—*Vita Prima*, I. iii. 10. In the *Prima Magna Charta Fontenetensis*, I. *ap.* Chifflet, *De Illustri Gen. S. Bern.* 540, we read: "Waldrici monachi, et Milonis conversi, qui ejusdam abbatiæ cum domno Martino Eremita primi ædificatores fuerant." Plainly, when already a monk, he bestowed his seigneury of Touillon upon the Abbey of Fontenay. "Porro in prima magna charta Fontenetensi asseritur Waldericus hic jam tum monachus, cum fratre suo . . . abbatiæ Fontenetensis primus ædificator."—Chifflet, *op. cit.* 645. As to the location of Touillon, Chifflet writes (*op. cit.* 644): "Tullium, quod in Tabulis Fontenetensibus Tullio, vulgo *Touillon*, cujus olim possessor Gualdricus . . . Abest . . . a Montebarro . . . vix duabus (leucis). Concessit Tuillio in ditionem monasterii Fontenetensis."

[1] "Hortantur eum ad studia litterarum, qua maxime via facilius eum detinere posse sperarent. Placuit sermo in oculis ejus et constituta est dies, qua providerent fratres itineri ejus necessaria, et sic in Alemanniam proficisceretur. . . . Festinans autem ad constitutum diem et locum, cœpit subito maternam in animo suo imaginem volvere, et confundi, quod frustraret spem, quam de eo ipsa conceperat, et nihil pro ea ageret, a qua tam tenere fuerat educatus."—MS. *Aureæ Vallis* (Orval) *ap. Acta Sanct. Bolland.* Augusti IV. *die* 20. 107. The episode of the visit to the church, recorded by William of St. Thierry as occurring on the road to Grancey-le-Château, is assigned by Vacandard to this occasion of "festinans autem . . . locum," on the ground that William was confused by the effort to abridge the *Fragmenta*. —Vacandard, *op. cit.* 24. In favour of this view is the high authority of the Orval MS. of the *Fragmenta*. Cf. p 9, *supra*, notes 4 and 5.

amongst them Gaudry de Touillon and three of Bernard's brothers, Guy, Gerard and Andrew.[1] Thither Bernard repaired, his mind not yet wholly averse from the pursuit of learning as his life's work. On his way he turned aside into a church to pray; in the act of prayer the resolution to quit the world returned with supernatural vigour and never again relaxed its hold upon his will.[2]

On Bernard's arrival his change of purpose was at once revealed by his efforts to win his kinsmen's hearts to the service in which he was himself enlisted. The first to join him was no less a person than the Seigneur de Touillon. Together the uncle and the nephew sought from Tescelin permission to enter the Abbey of Cîteaux without delay. Doubtless the request was, so far as concerned Bernard, no matter for surprise; in any case it was granted. And the sacred contagion spread rapidly amongst the young soldier-lads, fostered by an apparition of Aleth vouchsafed to Andrew, Bernard's next younger brother, at the time a mere tiro in warfare.[3]

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[1] "Le Duc de Bourgogne était en ce moment au siège de Grancey-le-Château avec ses vassaux, parmi lesquels se trouvaient les fils de Tecelin le Roux, seigneur de Fontaines-lès-Dijon."—Petit, *Hist. des ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne*, I. 307.

[2] "Inventaque in itinere medio ecclesia quadam, divertit, et ingressus oravit cum multo imbre lacrymarum, expandens manus in cœlum, et effundens sicut aquam cor suum ante conspectum Domini Dei sui. Ea igitur die firmatum est propositum cordis ejus."—*Vita Prima*, I. iii. 9. Cf. Gauf. *Fragm.* p. 3 sq. "Bernard, l'un des fils de Tecelin le Roux, allant trouver ses frères à ce siège, aperçut une église non loin de son chemin; il y entra, fit une longue prière et, dans l'ardeur de sa foi, fit vœu de mettre à exécution le vœu qu'il avait fait depuis longtemps de se consacrer au Seigneur."—Petit, *op. cit.* 308.

[3] "Porro Andreas, Bernardo etiam ipse junior, et novus eo tempore miles, verbum fratris difficilius admittebat, donec subito exclamavit: 'Video,' inquit, 'matrem meam.' Visibiliter equidem ei apparuit, serena facie subridens, et congratulans

Bartholomew, the youngest brother but one, had already ranged himself by the side of Bernard,[1] and Andrew, albeit deeply conscious of the sacrifice involved, did not any longer hesitate to follow his example. The next whom Bernard approached was Guy, the first-born of the family. Guy was a devoted husband, the father of two children, of whom the younger was but a babe in arms.[2] It has to be remembered that, in the Middle Ages, it was customary,[3] when both parties devoted themselves to the cœnobitic life, for the husband to enter a community of men and the wife a community of women, the children, if of tender age, following their mother to her conventual home, and there receiving education until there came the time for taking their place in the world. Guy made but faint resistance to the earnest solicitation of his brother, stipulating only, as was right for him to do, the free consent of his wife Elizabeth.[4] Bernard's reply was the prediction that, within a given time, his wife would either consent, or release him by her death; indeed, he hinted that she might herself petition for release.[5] Nor was his con-

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proposito filiorum. Itaque et ipse continuo manus dedit, et de tirone sæculi factus est miles Christi."—*Vita Prima*, I. iij. 10. Cf. Gauf. *Fragm.* p. 5.

[1] "Continuo etiam Bartholomæus occurrens . . . necdum miles, sine difficultate . . . dedit assensum."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[2] William of St. Thierry describes him as "præ aliis jam in sæculo radicatus."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[3] "Juxta morem ecclesiasticum."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[4] "Senior frater ejus Guido, cum de conversione loqueretur ei, excusare se cœpit de uxoris vinculo, quod solvere non liceat. Promisit tamen in fide, et dextram dedit venturum sese cum fratre, si posset ab uxore licentiam obtinere."—*Fragmenta ex Tertia Vita*, IV. "Hic primo paululum hæsitans, sed continuo rem perpendens et recogitans, conversioni consensit, si tamen conjux annueret."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[5] "Ad quem illico frater ait: 'Ut meliori sis animo, ego quoque in eadem tibi fide promitto, ante proximum Pascha,

fidence in what he regarded as the purpose of a merciful God to rescue Elizabeth from the world, unfounded. Knowing of her husband's resolution she, being at the time in sickness, called Bernard to her side and, expressing penitence for her hesitation, surrendered her husband to the cloister and declared her intention to betake herself to a nunnery, where due provision would be made for the education of their little daughters.[1] Before long she entered the religious house of Jully-sous-Ravières (Jully-les-Nonnains), the foundation of which William of St. Thierry describes as due to the instigation of Bernard, at a time when, among his disciples, there were not a few who were in the same state as was Guy.[2] Bernard lived to see Elizabeth ruling as

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aut licentia, imo et petitione, aut certe morte ipsius, solvendum te a lege uxoris.' Et promisit in manu ipsius."—*Fragmenta ex Tertia Vita*, IV. Cf. *Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[1] " Non multo post factum est ut prædixit : et cœpit juvencula nobilis et decora, cum omni instantia lacrymarum, in cubiculo, stupenti viro pro conversionis licentia supplicare."—*Fragm. ex Tert. Vita, loc. cit.* " Nec mora, flagellabatur prædicta Guidonis uxor infirmitate gravi. Et cognoscens quia durum sibi esset contra stimulum calcitrare, accersito Bernardo veniam deprecatur, et prior ipsa conversionis petit assensum."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[2] This particular passage is not found in Recension B. It states : " Quia vero ex prædictis sociis ejus uxorati aliqui fuerant, et uxores quoque cum viris idem votum sacræ conversationis inierant ; per ipsius solicitudinem ædificatum eis cœnobium sanctimonialium feminarum, quod Julleium dicitur, in Lingonensi parochia."—*Vita Prima*, I. iv. 19. The *Tabulæ fundationis Juliaci puellarum monasterii* were published by Chifflet (*op. cit.* 440 sq.). In them we read : " Ego Milo Barri comes . . . trado Juliacum castrum, quod fuit antecessoris mei, comitis videlicet Milonis, Deo et sanctæ matri ejus Mariæ Molismensi . . . ut idem locus religiosis ex integro deserviat feminis . . . eædemque mulieres sub ordinatione Molismensis abbatis Deo servire quiete valeant." Chifflet notes (*ad loc.*) : " Videtur autem facta hæc fundatio anno ipso 1113, quo S. Bernardus cum sociis ingressus est Cistercium, aut non multo post."

Prioress of Larrey (*Lairé*) near Dijon in the year 1145[1].

Of all the brothers Gerard, the second in age, was the most resolute in opposition to the projects of Bernard. He was a valiant soldier, a kindly man, beloved of his acquaintance; but he was a man of the world, and the scheme presented itself to his mind as something childish.[2] Bernard's attitude in the face of this obdurate contempt, was in that prophetic manner which was so frequently and so successfully to characterize him in after years; nay, the very words he used recur from time to time in his writings.[3] "It shall be nought but trouble that giveth understanding of the message,"[4] he exclaimed, foretelling the day near at hand, when, severely wounded by a spear-thrust and thinking himself to be at the point of death, Gerard declared himself to be a monk of Cîteaux.[5] But

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[1] Geoffrey writes (*Fragmenta* IV.): "Ipsa est quæ usque hodie in monasterio Lairiacus, quod prope Divionem situm est, perseverat mulier virtutis, et multarum in Christo virginum mater." The reference by William of St. Thierry (*Vita Prima*, I. iii. 10), "in cœtum santimonialium transiit feminarum, religiose usque hodie serviens Deo," is probably comprehensive of her life both at Jully and at Larrey. As was the former subject to Molesme, so was Larrey subject to St. Benignus of Dijon. Bernard Britto (*Chronica* sive *Annal. Cisterc.*) states Elizabeth to have been a daughter of the *Comes Florestensis*, as to which Chifflet remarks: "Forestensem fortasse, seu Foresiensem voluit dicere. Si sic habet, primæ igitur erat nobilitatis."—*Op. cit.* 399.

[2] "Ut mos est sapientiæ sæcularis, levitatem reputans, obstinato animo salubre consilium et fratris monita repellebat."—*Vita Prima*, I. iij. 11.

[3] Cf. *e.g. De Considerat.* I. iii. 4; *De Convers.* —VI. 11.

[4] "Sola vexatio intellectum dabit auditui."—Is. xxviii. 19, *Vulg.*

[5] "Sic dictum, sicque factum est. Paucissimis interpositis diebus circumvallatus ab inimicis, captus et vulneratus juxta verbum fratris, lanceam gestans ipsi lateri, eidemque infixam loco

such a declaration did not effect his release from the hands of his captors ; [1] nor was Bernard who, when summoned by his brother, after some salutary delay sought to visit him, able to do more than call to him from without : " Soon, brother Gerard, shall we together enter our monastic home ; meanwhile be thou the monk behind the prison-bars, knowing that the will is taken for the deed." [2] William of St. Thierry tells the story of his escape a few days later.[3] Ere long Gerard joined the rest of Bernard's disciples at Châtillon-sur-Seine. No mention has been made of Nivard, the youngest of the family, but a boy in years. On the occasion of the final departure of the six brothers from Fontaines-lès-Dijon, Guido, taking leave of him, reminded him that he would be a rich man, the sole depository of the family property. " Ah," replied the child, " and little blessing will it bring me, that I should inherit earth, when you are entering heaven ! " [4] Daily Nivard begged to be allowed to share in the spiritual privileges of the family, and, when no longer was it possible to resist his importunity, he was sent to a good priest to be suitably educated. He was not much older when he became,

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cui ille digitum applicuerat, trahebatur, et mortem quasi jam præsentem metuens clamabat : ' Monachus sum, monachus sum Cisterciensis.' "—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[1] " Nihilominus tamen captus et reclusus in custodia est."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[2] " Tu vero quandoquidem exire non licet, hic monachus esto, sciens quod vis, et non potes, pro facto reputari."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[3] *Vita Prima,* I. iij. 12.

[4] " Unus tantum, et ipse parvulus, remanebat, qui cum parvulis aliis in platea jocabatur. Videns ergo eum senior frater Guido : ' Ecce,' inquit, ' Nivarde, secure potestis ludere, quoniam terram multam habiturus estis.' At ille subsannans : ' Cum maledictione,' inquit, ' fiat hæc distributio, ut vos cœlum habeatis, ego terram.' "—*Fragmenta ex Tertia Vita,* III.

like his brothers, a novice at Cîteaux, and after but a year followed them to Clairvaux.[1]

What strikes us as remarkable is the fact that five brothers, not including Bernard, of very various ages and, as is plain, of very various dispositions, were all converted to the religious life within the space of a few months; for it was no later than the October of the year 1111 that they were gathered together in concord at Châtillon-sur-Seine, probably in their paternal home there. The date is fixed by the fact that, on the occasion of their being present together at Mass, soon after their reunion, the Epistle for the day was that for the XXIInd Sunday after Pentecost, namely Philippians i. 3 sqq. In the year in question this Sunday was October 22nd. The Cistercians read this Epistle upon the XXIIIrd Sunday after Pentecost, which would have been October 29th. In either case it was still the month of October.[2]

Bernard's enthusiasm knew no bounds. It was his considered plan to leave no familiar companion of his childhood untouched by the attraction of the life of religion. Already were assembled at Châtillon-sur-Seine, besides his uncle and his brothers, his two kinsmen Godfrey de la Roche[3] and Robert de

[1] "Ubi paululum crevit, factus est et ipse novitius apud Cistercium; et suscepto post anni spatium habitu, redditus est fratribus in Clara-Valle."—*Fragmenta, loc. cit.*

[2] The Abbé Vacandard (*Vie de saint Bernard*, I. 28. n. 2) draws this conclusion from the *Vita Prima*, I. iij. 13, where William of St. Thierry writes: "Cum autem cæteri, ut diximus, prima die in eodem essent cum Bernardo spiritu congregati, mane intrantibus eis ad ecclesiam, apostolicum illum capitulum legebatur, *Fidelis est Deus, quia qui cœpit in vobis opus bonum, ipse perficiet usque in diem Jesu Christi:* quod devotus juvenis haud secus accepit, quam si de cœlo sonuisset."

[3] "Propinquus sanguine et conversione socius, et ex tunc per omnia individuus comes."—*Vita Prima*, I. ix. 45. For further particulars as to Godfrey, see p. 53, note 1, *supra.*

Châtillon [1]; other adherents frequently joined themselves to the little company.[2] It was an enthusiasm which spread consternation amongst mothers, wives and boon companions.[3] Most touching is the story of the conversion of Hugh of Vitry, one of Bernard's closest friends.[4] He was already a cleric in the diocese of Mâcon, where ecclesiastical honours had fallen to him in an abundance which presaged higher honours yet to come. Bernard, in spite of persuasion to the contrary on the part of his brothers, journeyed to visit Hugh, allowing it to be supposed—surely there is in this a touch of conscious humour—that he was on his way to the holy city of Jerusalem.[5] The friends met either at Mâcon or at some place nearer Dijon. Their mutual greeting was affectionate, but Hugh was profuse

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[1] *Vide* p. 30, *supra.*

[2] "Quotquot ad hoc præordinati erant, operante in eis gratia Dei, et verbo virtutis ejus, et oratione et instantia servi ejus, primo cunctati, deinde compuncti, alter post alterum credebant et consentiebant."—*Vita Prima*, I. iii. 13.

[3] "Matres filios abscondebant, uxores detinebant maritos, amici amicos avertebant; quia voci ejus Spiritus sanctus tantæ dabat vocem virtutis, ut vix aliquis aliquem teneret affectus."—*Vita Prima*, I. iii. 15.

[4] "Inter quos adjunctus est ei etiam dominus Hugo Matisconensis, nobilitate et probibate morum, possessionibus et divitiis sæculi ampliatus: qui hodie merito religionis et sanctitatis suæ, raptus a Pontiniacensi cœnobio, quod ipse ædificavit, Autissiodorensi Ecclesiæ præest, merito et honore Pontificis."—*Vita Prima*, I. iij. 13. "Ait quadem die ad fratres suos: 'Habeo amicum Matisconi, Hugonem de Vitreio, et ipsum oportet adducere, ut sit et ipse unus ex nobis.' Erat autem clericus nobilis, et jam maturioris ætatis, sæcularibus pariter et ecclesiasticis facultatibus affluens."—*Fragm. ex Tertia Vita*, XI. Hugo was elected to be the fifty-fourth Bishop of Auxerre in 1136. —*Gall. Christ.* XII. 291.

[5] "Erat autem fama in regione, quod Jerosolymam esset iturus: sic enim ipse fingebat, non in eam in qua fuit, sed in qua est Dominus, Jerosolymam profecturus."—*Frag. loc. cit.*

in tearful lamentation, presumably at the prospect of Bernard's burying himself in the cloister.[1] On the following morning, however, after a night disturbed by incessant weeping, Hugh revealed to Bernard that, moved by divine grace, his tears were due no longer to the supposed loss of his friend, but to his own need of conversion. "Weep on," cried Bernard, "to thy heart's content; these are the best of tears."[2] But the intercourse of the distinguished young cleric with a person so dangerously attractive, as was Bernard in their estimation, was keenly resented by the worldly ecclesiastics of Mâcon.[3] Assiduous efforts were made to prevent their meeting. Geoffrey of Auxerre describes Bernard as following Hugh to a provincial synod, and sitting there beside him in an attitude of speechless, but tearful, affection.[4] When the synod was interrupted by a heavy storm the two friends found their opportunity; left alone with Bernard, Hugh confided to him that he had solemnly sworn not to become a monk for at least a year, his oath implying the usual novitiate, a subterfuge innocently enough intended

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[1] "Hic audiens de conversione socii et amici charissimi, flebat quasi perditum, quem sæculo mortuum audiebat."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[2] "'Mihi quam vobis conversionem esse magis necessariam non ignoro.' Ad quem Bernardus exsultans: 'Flete,' inquit, 'nunc satis, quoniam optimæ sunt lacrymæ istæ; nolite cessare.'" —*Frag. loc. cit.*.

[3] It is not unreasonable to suppose that the atmosphere of Mâcon was affected by Cluny in some measure. A worldly tradition appears to have existed there in the early eighteenth century, and to have been felt as oppressive by Martène and Durand. "Il y a dans Mâcon une église illustre, dont tous les chanoines doivent faire preuve de noblesse."—*Voyage Littéraire*, I. 233.

[4] "In medio clericorum juxta Hugonem sedens, loqui ei non poterat propter astantes, sed tamen flebat uberrime super collum ejus."—*Fragm. loc. cit.* Cf. *Vita Prima*, I. iii. 14.

to allay the opposition of the clergy of Mâcon, who in the end were less deceived than in despair of success.[1]

The number of those who were thus assembled under one roof at Châtillon-sur-Seine, awaiting the beginning of their novitiate, was at least thirty, including Bernard himself. It was a preparatory stage, a period of some six months, spent in recollection; a period, moreover, which alike allowed of the arrival of adherents and of the arrangement of mundane affairs, and left open the opportunity of returning to the world,[2] an opportunity of which, as we learn from William of St. Thierry, two of the number availed themselves: one apparently retired at an early stage; the other made something of a beginning, but failed under circumstances which for the time wrecked his life, although in the end he sought a home at Clairvaux and died there in a measure repentant, but not in the habit of a religious.[3] The

[1] "Beatus Hugonem manu tenens: 'Mecum,' inquit, 'in pluvia stabis' . . . et confessus est Hugo juramentum quod fecerat, minime se monachum fore usque ad annum. Hoc autem fecerat, ut deciperet clericos, annuam quippe probationem non ignorans . . . et jam desperati omnes, nemo deinceps Hugonem detinere tentavit."—*Fragm. loc. cit.*

[2] "Ipsi vero quasi mensibus sex post primum propositum in sæculari habitu stabant, ut proinde plures congregarentur, dum quorumdam negotia per id temporis expediebantur."—*Vita Prima*, I. iii. 15. Amongst the *negotia* might be the preliminaries concerning the sale of the *Casamentum Tullionis Castri* to Stephen, Bishop of Autun, by Gaudry de Touillon (*Cartul.* de *Molême*, II. 3) and those concerning the gift of Poilly to the Abbey of Molesme by Milo of Montbard (*Cartul. de Molême*, I. 116). See Petit, *Hist. des ducs de Bourgogne*, I. 452 and 508.

[3] "Alter enim, prius quam ventum esset ad rem, conversus retrorsum in sæculum rediit: alter cum cæteris cœpit quidem opus bonum, sed non perfecit. Vidi ego eum in sæculo postea vagum et profugum a facie Domini sicut Cain. . . . Qui tamen in ultimis Claram-Vallem rediit infirmitate corporis et inopia cogente . . . ibique proprietati renuntians, sed non omnino

same authority tells us that more than thirty companions entered Cîteaux with Bernard.[1] More probably there were in all, including Bernard and Robert of Châtillon, thirty-one applicants for admission; the novitiate of the latter was postponed, the number of those actually admitted being thus thirty.[2]

The lapse of six months [3] since October 1111 brings us to the spring of the year 1112, when the little company left their retreat at Châtillon-sur-Seine. Their road lay through Fontaines-lès-Dijon, and there the sons of Tescelin delayed to take leave of their beloved father. Generous indeed was the manner of his farewell. Thus to lose, in one day, six such sons was to the great noble an occasion, not for lamentation, but for proud rejoicing. Just one word of warning escaped him, suggested, doubtless, by his knowledge of the reckless enthusiasm of their young blood.[4] Nivard, the

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propriæ voluntati, obiit, non quidem intus, sicut frater et domesticus, sed foris misericordiam postulans, sicut pauper et mendicus." —*Vita Prima*, I. iij. 16.

[1] "Bernardus . . . Cistercium ingressus, cum sociis amplius quam triginta."—*Vita Prima*, I. iv. 19.

[2] "Robertus juvenis repulsus, quia nimium tener."—Manric. *Annal. Cisterc.* I. *an.* 1113 (ij. 1). "Tot clericos litteratos et nobiles, in sæculo potentes æque et nobiles, uno tempore ad illam Dei gratia transmisit ecclesiam, ut triginta simul in cellam novitiorum alacriter intrarent."—*Exord. Parv. Cisterc.* XVII. *ap.* Migne, CLXVI. Col. 1510. "Quidam triginta tantum viros, alii Bernardum cum triginta venisse tradant, nempe Roberto inter eos enumerato, quem dilata probatio, non ablata, utrique parti reliquit velut in dubio."—Manric. *Annal. Cisterc. loc. cit.* Cf. S. Bern. *Epist.* I. 8.

[3] *Vita Prima*, I. iij. 15. The prophetic words addressed by Bernard to Guy ("ante proximum Pascha . . . uxoris."—*Fragm. ex Tertia Vita*, IV.) suggest that it was not yet Eastertide.

[4] "Quid virilem illius patris animum loquar? Qui una die sex filios, et filios tales videns abire, non modo non doluit, sed et gavisus est valde; illud tantum monens, ut in omnibus modeste agerent: 'Quoniam ego,' inquit, 'novi vos, quod aut vix, aut

youngest, alone remained for a while in the world ; but he too, as we have seen, was already pledged to the same vocation as were the rest.[1]

Let our eyes rest for a moment upon the scene. It has its tragic aspect. A great house left unto itself well-nigh desolate, bereft of the mother and of all the sons ! The only daughter, Hombeline, or Homberge, still at her father's side, yet, alas ! but ill-fitted to supply her mother's place ![2] Nevertheless, it is a scene splendidly heroic, worthy of that transcendental type of Christian perfection, in conformity with which " no vestige of self may be suffered to remain in the true confessor's heart, in which every human desire must be burnt up by love of the Redeemer." [3]

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nunquam possit zelus vester cohiberi.' "—*Fragm. ex Tertia Vita*, III.

[1] *Vide*, p. 66, *supra*. " Abeuntibus illis, tunc quidem domi cum patre remansit, sed modico post evoluto tempore fratres secutus, nec a patre, nec a propinquis seu amicis potuit retineri."—*Vita Prima*, I. iii. 17.

[2] " Supererat de Deo dicata domo illa pater senior cum filia."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.* Hombeline was, until her conversion, a typical woman of the world. William of St. Thierry (*Vita Prima*, I. vj. 30) speaks of her as " in sæculo nupta, et sæculo dedita," describing her as visiting Bernard at Clairvaux " cum comitatu superbo et apparatu " and as being spurned by him " tanquam rete diaboli ad capiendas animas," a salutary treatment which resulted in her conversion. Thenceforth she lived in the world as her mother had before her and, in due course, " optata libertate potita," entered, as did Guy's wife, Elizabeth, the religious house of Juilly-les-Nonnains. " 7. Hymbeline, sœur unique, mariée, puis moniale à Iuilly les Nonnains proche Molesme."—*Charte de Fontenet, ap.* Chifflet, *op. cit.* 624. On the authority of Bernard Britto (*Chron.* sive *Annal. Cisterc.*) Chifflet (*op. cit.* 398) doubtfully states her husband to have been a brother of the Duchess of Lorraine. Cf. Jobin, *Saint Bernard et sa famille*, 129 sqq.

[3] J. Cotter Morison, *The Service of Man*, 205. Ed. 1887.

III

CÎTEAUX

THE foundation of Cîteaux represents the spirit of reform and, as is the case with every reform, the inspiration was, in its origin, that of an individual. At the end of the eleventh century there was, in the Abbey of St. Michel-de-Tonnerre, a monk named Robert, a native of Champagne and of noble birth,[1] known for his dissatisfaction with the laxity which prevailed, not only in that house, where he ruled as abbot, but in other houses of Burgundy and of Champagne, in which he had sought to find congenial fellowship in

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[1] "Natus an. 1018 fit primo Cellæ, seu S. Petri de cella Trecensi monachus, inde abbas S. Michaëlis Tornodor., tum relicta hac abbatia, prior S. Aygulfi, quæ sancti Petri Trecensis cella est apud Pruvinum, postea Molismensis abbas."—*Abbat. Series*, I. *ap. Gall. Christ.* IV. 731. "De Campaniæ partibus oriundus . . . Pater igitur ejus Theodericus, mater vero Ermegardis dicebatur."—*Vita S. Rob. Ab.* auct. monach. Molism. anon. seculo XII. *ap. Acta Bolland.* April. III., *die* 29. 669. "Sanctitate et gratia apud Deum et homines satis clarus, a monachis S. Michaëlis Tornodorensis electus est in Abbatem."—*Ap. Acta Bolland. loc. cit.* 670. Cf. Mabillon. *Annal. Bened.* V. lxiv (ci). 93. Henriquez (*Fascic. Sanct. Ord. Cisterc.* I. I. i. 4) gives the ancestry of Robert as Imperial on his father's side. "Divus Robertus, nobilis Campanus, Regulam S. Benedicti per annos plures in diversis monasteriis tum prior, tum abbas, professus."—Meglingeri *Iter Cisterciense*, 2. *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 1570. For the circumstances of the *Iter Cisterciense* see p. 41, note 1, *supra.*

the strict observance of the Benedictine Rule.[1] Later he migrated and was instrumental in founding the Abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Molesme,[2] where as abbot he became the leader of a small band of zealous reformers among the monks whom he ruled. Plainly, however, Robert's efforts, although supported by the best of his subjects, met with an opposition which was sometimes even violent.[3] A day came when, in the absence of Robert, Alberic, one of his staunchest adherents and, as prior, in charge of the monastery, was made the victim of a revolt on the part of the refractory brethren.[4] A crisis ensued. On the return of the abbot the reforming party urged the need of separating themselves and of retiring to some place where, unmolested by internal faction, they might

[1] " In tantum negligentiæ torporem monasticus Ordo collapsus fuisset, ut venientibus ad conversionem, non tam profectus quam periculum multis in locis imminere videretur; nec spes ulla restaurationis uspiam arrideret."—*Exord. Magn. Cisterc.* I. x. *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 1007.

[2] This foundation, as was Cîteaux, was a protest against laxity. Molesme was a village on the river Leignes in the Côte d'Or. The abbey was built of rough-hewn timber on an eminence of land granted by Hugo de Merlennac. " In finibus Lingonum Montem-Barrum inter et Mussiacum, in declivi colle ad dextram Lagnis fluvioli, conditur aliis 1066, aliis 1074, ac denique 1075 . . . die Dominica 20 decembris (id convenit an. 1075) in territorio S. Petri Vivi prope Riciacum, in parochia Polliaci. . . . Attamen Rainaldum etiam episcopum Lingonensem fuisse hujus loci fundatorem colligitur ex charta Wilenci episcopi an. 1129. . . . Quinimo fundatoribus Molismi accensendus videtur Hugo de Merlennaco, qui locum ipsum ab omni dominio solutum . . . *concessit.*"—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 729 and *Instrumenta,* 147 sq.

[3] " Cæteri, qui carnales erant . . . servos Dei deridere, modisque omnibus, quibus poterant, ut a tam sancto proposito cessarent, infestare cœperunt."—*Exord. Magn. Cisterc.* I. x.

[4] Of Alberic, second Abbot of Cîteaux, the *Exordium Parvum* (IX. *ap.* Migne, CLXVI. Col. 1505) relates that for his adherence to Robert " multa opprobria, carcerem et verbera perpessus fuerat."

faithfully keep the Benedictine Rule. Robert was himself of the same mind, and taking with him Alberic and six other monks, including Stephen Harding,[1] third Abbot of Cîteaux, sought Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons and Legate of the Holy See, in order to obtain the authority requisite for their venture.[2] Hugh, on hearing of the state of affairs, without hesitation addressed to them a letter, in his capacity of Legate, empowering them and encouraging them to act as they proposed.[3] On their return to Molesme Robert selected additional monks, to the number of fourteen, who were desirous of strictly observing the Rule, and, with them and the six monks who had accompanied him on his visit to Hugh, retired to a lonely place, lying in the midst of a thickly wooded country on the borders of Burgundy and Bresse, which bore the name of Cistercium.[4] There, with the approval of the

[1] William of Malmesbury represents Stephen as the prime mover and depreciates Robert. He also speaks of the foundation of Cîteaux as having taken place under the patronage of the Archbishop of Vienne, Guy I, subsequently Pope Callixtus II (1119–1124), making no mention of the action of Archbishop Hugh. The Chapter *De Cisterciensibus* of the Fourth Book of the *De Gestis Reg. Angl.* should be read in full; it is valuable testimony, given as it is by a by no means hagiolatrous witness.

[2] "Non solum consilium auxiliumque se præbiturum, verum etiam seipsum individuum comitem eorum in tam sancto proposito futurum firmissime pollicetur."—*Exord. Magn. Cisterc.* I. x.

[3] "In locum alium quem vobis divina largitas designaverit, vos declinare, ibique salubrius atque quietius Domino famulari, utile duximus fore . . . hoc sanctum propositum servare et tunc consuluimus, et ut in hoc perseveretis præcipimus, et auctoritate apostolica per sigilli nostri impressionem in perpetuum confirmamus."—*Exord. Parv. II.*

[4] "Ita ut . . . viginta et unus monachi essent, talique stipati comitatu ad eremum quae Cistercium dicebatur, alacriter tetenderunt."—*Exord. Parv.* III. The name Cistercium is derived either from the word *cisternæ*, of which Du Cange gives the explanation that "dicitur de loco humili et paludoso, ubi stagnat

diocesan, the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Saône, the twenty-one pioneers established themselves in little wooden huts on land granted them by Raymond, Vicomte de Beaune,[1] who, together with Odo I, Duke of Burgundy,[2] befriended them from the very beginning. The locality was unattractive; a little river, one of the many affluents of the Saône, overflowed into a marsh, where grew rushes and a coarse grass, which the natives called *cistel;* where the marsh ended were impenetrable thickets, the lair of wild beasts.[3] Some fifteen miles to the north lay Dijon; Nuits-St.-Georges was about eight miles to the west. Naturally the little settlement was called *Novum Monasterium*[4] in

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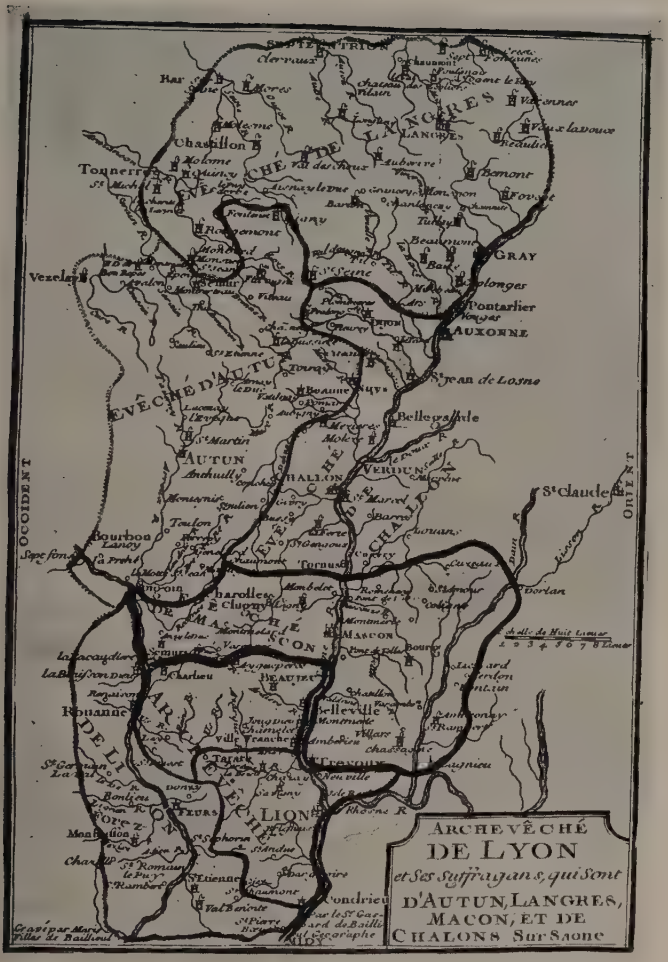
aqua," or from *cistelli*, "virgultorum fasciculi, quibus terra continetur, quod instar cistarum simul implicantur."—Du Cange, *s.v.* Méglinger (*Iter Cisterc.* 2) refers to the place as "incultam eremum, Cistercium, ob plura ibidem stagna ac cisternas dictam." The whole neighbourhood was studded with small lakes, but the derivation from *cistelli*, which is equally suitable, is generally preferred.—Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard*, I. 36. n. (4).

[1] *Gallia Christiana* (IV. *Instr. Eccl. Cabilon.* 233 sq.) gives the deed of conveyance (incomplete) from the *Tabularium Cisterciense.* Not only the Vicomte, but his wife and all his children *nominatim*, are parties thereto. It is to be found in a *précis* in French in Petit, *Hist. des ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne*, I. 411 sq., under the date 1098–1100.

[2] "Hic Odo quadrennio post . . . in Asiam . . . jam jam exercitum traducturus, inquit Paradinus, immatura morte interceptus est, et in Cistercio sepultus, ubi et Henricus ejus filius secundo genitus monachus effectus est."—Migne, *not. ad Exord. Parv.* III. P. L. CLXVI. Col. 1503. Odo, or Eude, I lived from 1079 to 1102, when he died at Tarsus in Cilicia; he married Mathilda, daughter of William the Great, Count of Burgundy. Henry, his second son, died a monk of Cîteaux in 1119.—Petit, *Hist. des ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne*, I. *généalogie.*

[3] "Præ nemoris spinarumque tunc temporis opacitate, accessui hominum insolitus, a solis feris inhabitabatur."—*Exord. Parv.* III.

[4] This was the name applied to it by Hugh, in the letter quoted from the *Exordium Parvum*, II. *Vide* p. 75, note 3, *supra.*



MAP OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL PROVINCE OF LYON.

facing p. 76.

distinction from Molesme ; the day of its formal foundation was March 21st in the year 1098.[1]

In spite of the powerful support of the Vicomte de Beaune and of the Duke of Burgundy, the latter of whom generously gave material means both for the construction of the monastic buildings and for the stocking of the farm,[2] and in spite of the assiduous labour of the monks on the house and on the land, the crisis had not yet passed. The monks of Molesme, under their new abbot, one Geoffrey, had no intention of suffering meekly the reproach which, by reason of this secession, had been cast upon them. Robert had not long been duly invested by the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Saône,[3] when they formally demanded of the Pope, Urban II (1088–1099), a Frenchman who had been a Cluniac monk, that he should be required to return to Molesme.[4] The rest of the seceders they were content to leave in their new solitude. The Archbishop of Lyons, as Legate, received a letter from the Pope, instructing him to act as the monks of Molesme demanded. They had clamoured in person, and plainly they had clamoured with considerable per-

[1] " Anno igitur ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo octavo . . . duodecimo Kalendas Aprilis, solemni die natalis sanctissimi Benedicti, quem geminata lætitia tunc celebrem reddiderat, ob Dominicam Palmarum, quæ ipsum occurreret . . . Cisterciensis domus . . . exordium sumpsit."—*Exord. Magn.* I. xiii.

[2] " Sancto fervore eorum delectatus, sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ præscripti legati litteris rogatus, monasterium ligneum quod incœperant, de suis totum consummavit, illosque inibi in omnibus necessariis diu procuravit, et terris ac pecoribus abunde sublevavit."—*Exord. Parv.* III.

[3] " Ab episcopo diœcesis illius virgam pastoralem cum cura monachorum jussu prædicti legati suscepit . . . sicque ecclesia illa in abbatiam canonice et apostolica auctoritate crescendo surrexit." —*Exord. Parv.* IV.

[4] " Papam Romæ adeuntes postulare cœperunt, ut sæpe dictus Robertus in locum pristinum restitueretur."—*Exord. Parv.* V.

sistency [1]; equally plain is it that it was not, in Urban's view, a matter of course that his Legate would succeed in winning the obedience of Robert. Moreover the language of his letter suggests that the Pope did not quite correctly understand what was the aim of the reformers.[2] The contrast between the *eremus* and the *cœnobium*, which is strongly marked in the original documents throughout, is certainly expressive of the Cistercian spirit, provided that we remember that the reformers were not seeking to promote the solitary life, but the cœnobitic life in a solitary place, the *cœnobium in eremo*, an ideal which, it must be allowed, did not in any strict sense for long prevail.[3] As for Robert, he was nothing if not Benedictine *jusqu'au cou ;* obedience to authority was his second nature. He immediately accepted the Pope's decision, absolved his Cistercians from their allegiance to himself, and retraced his steps to Molesme, accompanied by a few brethren who had tired of the solitude,[4] and armed for his protection with a kindly letter of commendation from the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Saône to his former diocesan, the Bishop of Langres, setting forth that the proceedings were all

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[1] "Molismensium fratrum magnum clamorem accepimus in concilio abbatis sui reditum vehementius expostulantium."—*Exord. Parv.* VI. "Cogente Papa Romano propter querelam insatigabilem Molismensium Monachorum."—*Ex Chron. Willelm. Godelli Monach. S. Martial. Lemovic. ap. Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France,* XIII. 673. Godellus of St. Martial-de-Limoges wrote *circ. an.* 1173.

[2] "Quod si implere nequiveris, curæ tibi sit, ut et qui eremum diligunt conquiescant, et qui in cœnobio sunt regularibus disciplinis inserviant."—*Exord. Parv.* VI.

[3] Cf. p. 150, note 1, *infra.*

[4] "Hæc omnia abbas ille laudavit et fecit, absolvendo Cistercienses ab obedientia quam ei in illo vel in Molismensi loco promiserant . . . sicque reversus est, et quidam monachi cum eo, qui eremum non diligebant."—*Exord. Parv.* VII.

in due canonical order.[1] The greater number of the Cistercian monks, including Alberic and Stephen, remained in their solitude, confirmed in their fidelity to the ideal of their abbot. Robert's sacrifice was the measure of his success. His departure occurred at some time in the July or in the August of the year 1099, for the *Exordium Parvum*, in recording the death of Alberic, his successor, speaks of him as having presided as abbot for nine years and a half.[2] Alberic died on January 26th, 1109.[3] Deeply imbued with the spirit of Robert, Alberic possessed in a high degree the characteristics which were needed in order to give it full effect. Faithfully devoted to that seclusion from mundane affairs which was prescribed by the Rule,[4] he was yet a capable administrator, a firm ruler. With

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[1] "Notum sit vobis fratrem Robertum . . . a professione quam Cabilonensi Ecclesiæ fecit, et ab obedientia quam nobis promisit, secundum domini archiepiscopi Hugonis definitionem a nobis esse absolutum."—*Exord. Parv.* VIII. On his return to Molesme Robert resumed the abbatial dignity, in place of Geoffrey, ruling there until his death in 1110. "Migravit ad Dominum hoc anno (*sc.* 1110) die 21 Martii, licet ejus festivitas celebretur penultima Aprilis, post regimen 35 annorum, 18 hebdomadarum et trium dierum, humatus in ecclesia Molismensi."—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 732. The *Vita ap. Acta Bolland.* April. III. *die* 29, 672, gives the day of his death as "decimo quinto Kalendas Maji." Petit quotes MS. 156, *Archives de la Côte d'Or:* "Anno Domini MCX, penultima die Aprilis, quæ est tertia Kalendas Maii, venerabilis Robertus . . . obiit."—*Hist. des ducs de Bourgogne*, I. 292.

[2] "Per novem annos et dimidium regulari disciplina feliciter exercitatus."—*Exord. Parv.* XVII.

[3] "Anno 1109, die 26 Januarii, in cinere et cilicio, et in medio suorum discipulorum vitam cum morte commutavit."—Lambertini (Benedict. XIV) *De Servorum Dei et Beatorum Canonizatione*, I. xiij. 17. 100. Cf. *Gall. Christ.* IV. 984. By grant of the S.C.R. Blessed Alberic is honoured with an office on this day in the Cistercian houses of Italy.

[4] Cf. *Regula S. P. Benedicti*, IV (Quæ sunt instrumenta bonorum operum). 20: "A sæculi actibus se facere alienum."

wise foresight he made it one of his first acts to obtain the *Privilegium Romanum* from Paschal II (1099–1118), and thus to ensure on valid canonical grounds the permanence of the New Monastery.[1] To him was due that strict application of the Rule to all the details, domestic and other, of monastic life, which marked the Cistercians from the first, and of which the white cowl, coming to distinguish them from the Black Monks of the earlier foundations, was intended by Alberic to be, as it were, the sacramental sign, being in fact made of cloth woven from the undyed wool in its natural colour.[2] Such details included clothing, bedding, cooking and eating utensils, and the furniture of the church. No tithes enriched them,[3] no woman approached their doors; the services of *conversi* and of *mercenarii* were used but as a matter of strict necessity, and then only *ex licentia episcopi*, were such obtainable.[4]

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[1] The Bull is quoted in full in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CLXIII. Coll. 47 sq. It bears the date of October 19th, 1100, and is addressed to Alberic "ejusque successoribus regulariter substituendis in perpetuum." It is also found in the *Exord. Parv.* XIV. and in Mansi, *Concil.* XX. 980 sq.

[2] "Cum enim primi nostri Patres egressi fuerunt de Molismo habitum nigrum Cluniacensis congregationis retinuerunt, donec tempore beati Alberici ipsa Regina Angelorum colorem mutare præcepit."—Henric. *Fascic. Sanct. Ord. Cisterc.* I. ij (2). 19. The same writer explains this as "animi eorum integritatem et puritatem certissimo tanquam symbolo denotans."—*Loc. cit.* It was, of course, an expression of puritan simplicity.

[3] *The Exordium Parvum Cisterciense* (XV. Instituta monachorum Cisterciensium de Molismo venientium) seems to suggest that while tithes were accepted, yet they were divided into four parts, and allocated to the bishop, to the parish priest, to guests, widows, orphans and the poor, and the fourth part to the repairs of the church, after the example of the holy fathers, "quorum statuta transgredi sacrilegium est committere."

[4] "Hæc omnia abdicarunt" is the comprehensive language of the *Exordium Parvum, loc. cit.* As regards women, we read in the same context that, after the example of St. Benedict, who

On the death of Alberic the monks elected as their abbot Stephen Harding, who at the time was absent from Cîteaux.[1] Stephen was an Englishman, one of the original pioneers from Molesme, and of the same spirit as his predecessor. He was, moreover, a scholar of distinction, a man who had travelled in search of learning. After leaving Sherborne, his native place, where he was professed as a Benedictine monk,[2] he had visited the schools of Ireland and of Paris, and it was on his way home from Rome that, delaying at Molesme, he fell under the influence of Robert's reforming spirit, and remained there as his supporter.[3] On election to the abbatial dignity he at once proved himself to be a ruler no whit less vigorous than had been Alberic. Even Hugh II,[4] Duke of Burgundy, albeit a true

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excepted only his own sister, they might not even be buried within the precincts of the monastery.

[1] "Vocabatur Stephanus Hardingus, S. Alberico suffectus an. D. circiter 1109, cum absens esset, inquit Guillel. Malmesb."—Migne, *not. in Exord. Parv. Cisterc.* XVII.

[2] On the other hand, after telling of him as "a puero Scireburniæ monachus," and relating his defection and wanderings, William of Malmesbury writes: "In Molesmo, novo et magno monasterio, crinem abjecit, et prima quidem elementa regulæ olim visa facile recognovit."—Guill. Malm. *De Gest. Reg. Angl.* IV. *De Cisterciensibus.* This would plainly indicate a lapse and a recovery in the earlier life of Stephen.

[3] "Professione (fuit) monachus; quod vitæ genus ab adolescentia sectabatur, ad Shirburnense monasterium induto habitu . . . Post visitata Romæ sacra loca, crediderim, et perfectioris adhuc vitæ ab Stephano Hardingo conceptum votum . . . Gallias repedabat; cum ecce pervium Lingonense territorium, et in eo Molismus recenti fama ad monachos (*sc.* Stephanum et socium ejus) divertendi occasio fuit."—Manric. *Intr. ad Annal. Cisterc.* II. 4 sq., *ap. Acta Bolland.* April. II. *die* 17. 496 sq. "Elegerunt virum bonum, nomine Stephanum, natione Anglicum, qui cum eis de Molismo exierat . . . eremi amatorem et ferventissimum sanctæ paupertatis æmultatorem."—*Exord. Magn. Cisterc.* I. xv.

[4] For Hugh II see p. 60, note 1, *supra.*

friend of Cîteaux, was made to feel the reality of the spirit of reform, being forbidden to hold his court in the abbey-church, according to the custom prevalent in the Benedictine houses of that day.[1] The simplicity of the equipment of the church itself was, if possible, more noticeable than it had been hitherto ; gold vessels, silk vestments, silver crosses and silver censers were banished ; [2] likewise copes, tunicles and dalmatics.[3] It was a puritanism which might have staggered the resolution of a Laud. And yet this severe simplicity represented no dour contempt for the external aspect of things, we may be sure ; for Stephen was no boor, nay rather, a gracious, pleasing presence,[4] not lacking, perhaps, something of the *fastidium* of a travelled scholar. Nor, on the other hand, was it the mere rehabilitation of a system of rigorism. There corresponded with it a very awful inward austerity which did not fail to impress beholders, nay, even to terrify them. For, when death left places vacant in the Cistercian ranks, it soon became evident that it was no easy matter to fill them. The "new Knights of

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[1] "Hujus temporibus interdixerunt fratres una cum eodem abbate, ne dux illius terræ seu alius aliquis princeps curiam suam aliquo tempore in ecclesia illa tenerent, sicuti antea in solemnitatibus agere solebant."—*Exord. Parv.* XVII.

[2] "Cruces . . . tantum modo ligneas . . . neque candelabra nisi unum ferreum, neque thuribula nisi cuprea vel ferrea, neque casulas nisi de fustaneo vel lino sine pallio auroque, et argento . . . calices argenteos non aureos."—*Exord. Parv. loc. cit.*

[3] "Pallia vero atque dalmaticas, cappas, tunicasque ex toto dimiserunt."—*Exord. Parv. loc. cit.* The albes and amices are described as "similiter sine pallio, auro vel argento" ; the stoles and maniples as "de pallio tantum, sine auro et argento." The *pallia* forbidden to be worn on the albes or amices would probably be the ornaments called apparels. "Modo dicitur *Pallium* quoddam genus panni ex serico."—Ugutio, *ap.* Du Cange, *s.v.*

[4] "Sermone comis, facie jucundus."—Guill-Malm. *ap. Acta Bolland. loc. cit.*

Christ" offered little inducement to the average recruit.[1] Their absorbing interest, however, in the permanence of their house expressed itself in fervent and unceasing prayer, and not in vain.[2]

It was, as we have seen, in the spring of the year 1112 that Bernard and his brothers took leave of their father at Fontaines-lès-Dijon. The steps of the little company, of no less than thirty neophytes,[3] were at once directed towards Cîteaux. Their arrival meant no less than that the perpetuity of the Cistercian order was assured. It had seemed of late that it was trembling in the balance.[4]

It is not easy for us to estimate in terms of to-day the discipline which these young nobles proposed to accept as the permanent condition of their future life. We may gather something from the perusal of such works as the *Exordium Parvum*, the *Charta Charitatis*,[5] the *Consuetudines Cistercienses* (*Usus Antiquiores*

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[1] "Hujus sæculi divitiis spretis . . . novi milites Christi, cum paupere Christo pauperes."—*Exord. Parv.* XV.

[2] "Istis temporibus visitavit Dominus locum illum viscera misericordiæ suæ effundens super se petentes, ad se clamantes, coram se lachrymantes, die et nocte longa profundaque suspiria trahentes, et fere ostio desperationis appropinquantes, pro eo quod successoribus pene carerent."—*Exord. Parv.* XVII. Cf. p. 107, *infra*.

[3] *Vide* p. 71, *supra*.

[4] All the authorities emphasize this. Cf. e.g. the *Chronicon Turonense, ap.* Martin. et Durand. *Veter. Script. et Mon. Ampl. Coll.* V. 1014: "Factum est post breve tempus ut Cisterciensis Ecclesia, quæ rebus et gente pauper, necnon et sterilis fuerat, plures jam abbatias nobilissimas parturiret." The concluding chapter of the *Exordium Parvum* (XVIII.) opens with the words: "Abhinc abbatias in diversis episcopatibus ordinaverunt," referring to the accession of Bernard and his companions as being the point of departure in this great extension.

[5] For the *Exordium Cœnobii et Ordinis Cisterciensis*, commonly called the *Exordium Parvum*, and the *Charta Charitatis*, both the work of St. Stephen, see p. 36, note 4, *supra*. The texts of

Ordinis Cisterciensis),[1] or the *Instituta Generalis Capituli apud Cistercium.*[2] Bernard, doubtless, had counted the cost. William of St. Thierry tells us how, during the days of his novitiate, he might have been heard questioning himself, as it were from the depths of his soul: "Bernard, Bernard, to what end art thou come hither?" And the end was that he might die to

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both are to be found in Guignard, *Monuments Primitifs de la règle Cistercienne*, as well as in Migne, P. L. CLXVI. Coll. 1377 sqq. and 1509 sqq. Migne appears to doubt St. Stephen's sole responsibility for the *Charta*, referring to him as "præcipuum auctorem . . . non tamen unicum."—Migne, *Admon. in Chart. Charit.* In the *Exordium* it is noteworthy that the Dijon MS., edited by Guignard, gives a more ascetic version of the chapter numbered XV in Migne's edition, forbidding "femoralia, pectines et coopertoria."

[1] The *Consuetudines* were edited by Guignard, *op. cit.* The learned editor dates the MS. (Dijon 114 [82]) at 1173–1191, its *provenance* being Cîteaux, where it was inventoried by Abbot Jean de Cirey in 1480. They are to be found also in Migne, P. L. CLXVI. Coll. 1385 sqq., under the title *Usus Antiquiores Ordinis Cisterciensis*, and in the *Nomasticon Cisterciense* (Paris, 1664).

[2] The *Instituta* also are contained in the same Dijon MS., edited by Guignard, where they follow the *Consuetudines*. They are published in Migne, P. L. CLXXXI., Coll. 1725 sqq. and in the *Nomasticon*. Migne ascribes them, as is usually done, to Raynald, fifth Abbot of Cîteaux (1133–1151), and dates them at 1134; but the Dijon MS. contains seven sections, lxxxvj–xcij, professedly the work of the General Chapter of 1152. Guignard thinks that the *Instituta* were prepared by Raynald, together with other important propositions, for submission to the Chapter, but that, "la mort l'ayant surpris avant l'exécution de son dessein, ce fut l'Abbé Gozevin, son successeur, qui présenta ces projets au Chapitre."—Guignard, *op. cit.* xvi. These Annual General Chapters were contemplated by the *Charta;* see the *Prologus* ascribed by Migne to Raynald. For Raynald's high reputation see S. Bern. *Epist.* CCLXX.: "Dominus Cisterciensis deseruit nos: plaga magna in Ordine. Mihi vero duplex incumbit mœroris ratio qui in uno homine et patrem amisi, et filium."—Cf. *Gall. Christ.* IV. 985.

the hearts and to the memory of men.[1] The mortification of the flesh demanded of a Cistercian monk concerned, from the beginning of his novitiate, the three departments of clothes, food and sleep. He dispensed with the comfortable furs or pelisses, ample garments covering the body completely to the wrists; the soft, warm, flowing hoods; indulgences which the prevailing laxity had hitherto allowed, in spite of the Rule of St. Benedict.[2] With no less fidelity to the Rule he rejected the under-garments which had been added, in degenerate days, to the scanty wardrobe of the monk; only when on a journey were such things permitted.[3] In the case of these Cistercian novices their clothing differed little, save formally in the matter of the *habitus*

[1] "Ingressus est . . . intentione ibi moriendi a cordibus et memoria hominum, et spe delitescendi et latendi tanquam vas perditum."—*Vita Prima*, I. iv. 19.

[2] "Rejicientes a se quidquid Regulæ refragabatur, froccos videlicet et pellicias, staminias et caputia."—*Exord. Parv.* XV. "In ecclesiis nostris non sint cucullæ deforis floccatæ."—*Instituta*, XV. Cf. S. Bern. *Epist.* I. 11: "Si pelliciæ lenes calidæ, si pani subtiles et prætiosi, si longæ manicæ, et amplum caputium . . . sanctum faciunt . . .," and the note of the Benedictine editor *ad loc.*

[3] "Rejicientes a se . . . staminias."—*Exord. Parv. loc. cit.* The Rule prescribed "cuculla, tunica, pedules, caligæ, bracile" and, with admirable common sense, suggestive of the spirit of the Boy Scout, "cultellus, graphium, acus, mappula, tabula"; to this was added "scapulare propter opera": the cowl was to be in winter *villosa*, in summer *pura* or even *vetusta*. On journeys the monks were to be specially well clad, and to receive in addition *femoralia*. "Femoralia hi, qui in via diriguntur, de vestiario accipiant, quæ, revertentes, tota ibi restituant."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* LV. "Rejicientes a se . . . femoralia."—*Exord. Parv. ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 71. *Flocus*, *floccus*, is the garment which is τριχώδης, and "amplas habet manicas": here what is probably meant is the "*floccata cuculla*, ampla et superfluitate panni redundans." *Manica* = *manche*. The *staminia* was a "lanea interula, seu Camisia, qua Monachi quidam vice cilicii utebantur." Cf. Du Cange, *s.v.*

monachilis, from that of the professed.[1] The Rule, however, prescribed the ceremonial clothing of the professed monk only, speaking of it as the exchange of his own garments for those of the monastery, the essential thing being the renunciation of all proprietary right in what was worn.[2] In any case some kind of hood seems to have been worn during the novitiate, for when Bernard was, at this stage, troubled by visitors, he adopted the plan of closing his ears to their conversation by stopping them with wads of tow inserted surreptitiously under the *caputium*.[3] The *caputium* of the *habitus monachilis* was part of the *cuculla*, which was distinguished from the *froccus* or *floccus* by being sleeveless.[4]

In the matter of food the provision was more than plain; it was scarcely palatable. And the novices in this, as in work, rest and prayer, fared as did the professed. Some idea of the Cistercian table may be obtained from the *Instituta*. It was, we shall remember, under the authority of the General Chapter, about fifty years after the foundation of the Order, that they were promulgated. White bread was forbidden,[5]

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[1] "Hisdem pannis induatur, excepto habitu monachili: pro quo cappam et mantellum vel pelles habeat."—*Consuetud. Cisterc.* CII. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 219.

[2] "In Oratorio exuatur rebus propriis, quibus vestitus est, et induatur rebus monasterii."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* LVIII.

[3] "Cum ad eos duceretur, accepit stupas, et misit sub capucio in aures suas."—*Vita Quarta*, II. 1.

[4] "*Caputium.* Idem quod *Capitium*, capitis tegumentum, quod *Capæ* assutum erat . . . *Statuta Ordin. Cartusiensis* ann. 1368 part 2, Cap. 1. (2): *Caputia cucullarum sint quadrata nec duorum palmorum mensuram in latum excedant, vel in longum. Caputia vero capparum sint aliquantulum largiora.*"—Du Cange, *s.v. Caputia* were discarded by the first-comers from Molesme.—*Exord. Parv.* XV.

[5] "Ne in cœnobiis nostris fiat panis candidus, nequidem in præcipuis festivitatibus, sed grossus, id est cum cribro factus."—*Instit. Capit. Gen.* XIV.

as also were flesh-meats, sweetmeats, savouries; variety was abjured.[1] Jacobus de Vitry, writing in the thirteenth century, tells us that fish, eggs, cheese and milk were all excluded from the normal bill of fare in the Cistercian houses of his day.[2] St. Benedict had allowed, as a concession to the needs of the body, a daily measure of wine equal to a small pint, encouraging abstinence on the part of the strong, and leaving the question of a larger allowance to the discretion of the prior.[3] But these Cistercians banned it entirely, washing down their black bread and vegetables with water.[4] According to the Rule the hours

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[1] "In victu quotidiano diversitas est cavenda."—*Instit. loc. cit.* "Intra monasterium nullus carne vescatur aut sagimine."—*Instit.* XXIV. "In conventu generaliter nec pipere, nec cimino, nec hujus modi speciebus utimur."—*Instit.* LXI. Cf. *Instit.* XIX. "Libidinem accendunt."—S. Bern. *Epist.* I. 11.

[2] "Piscibus, ovis, lacte et caseo non vescuntur communiter."—*Historia Orient. et Occident.* XIV. 300. "Multi in Ægypto fratres multo tempore Deo sine piscibus servierunt."—S. Bern. *Epist.* I. 11. Cf. the Benedictine editor's note *ad loc.*

[3] "Tamen infirmorum contuentes imbecillitatem, credimus, eminam vini per singulos sufficere per diem. Quibus autem donat Deus tolerantiam abstinentiæ, propriam se habituros mercedem sciant. Quod si aut loci necessitas vel labor aut ardor æstatis amplius poposcerit, in arbitrio prioris consistat."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* XL. "De mensura ipsa non parum litigant" writes Martène (*Reg. Comment.* XL). For example: "Quasi tertia pars quartæ vini Parisiensis" (*Const. MS. Casalis Bened.* 57); "libram unam, quæ geminata sextarium facit" (*Smaragdus*). Martène prefers Mabillon's estimate, "uncias decem et octo diurnæ Benedictinæ heminæ tribuens." The estimates varied very widely. *Vide* Du Cange, *s.v.* who speaks of the *celebris controversia* "quæ circa heminam vini inter eruditos viros olim versata est."

[4] It was essentially the diet of the physical worker. "Olus, faba, pultes, panisque cibarius cum aqua, quiescenti quidem fastidio sunt, sed exercitato magnæ videntur deliciæ."—S. Bern. *Epist.* I. 12. "Utamur . . . communibus herbis quales terra producit."—*Consuetud. Cisterc.* LXIII. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.*

and number of the meals varied with the seasons and with the days of the week. In summer, the season of field-work, there were two meals, one at about mid-day and the other at about six o'clock afternoon. From the middle of September until Easter there was one meal, which was taken during the earlier period at three o'clock and, during Lent, at an hour later in the day. There were always two meals on Sundays; in the summer, unless excessive labour forbade the restriction, there was only one meal on Wednesdays and Fridays.[1] This arrangement was, we may believe, loyally adopted at Cîteaux; it involved the rigour of a daily fast of twenty-four hours for the greater portion of the year, and that the least genial portion.[2]

No less than was the table scanty were the beds hard. The Rule prescribed a mere mat of rushes or the like for a mattress, a coarse blanket, a coverlet, probably of hard cloth, like a horseman's cloak, and something for the head.[3] The *Exordium Parvum* is

268. Bernard does not condemn the use of wine as a medicine, but as a luxury. Even then we must remember that St. Timothy's life was a valuable life. But ours? "Da mihi alterum Timotheum; et ego cibo eum, si vis, etiam auro, et poto balsamo." —S. Bern. *In Cant. Cant.* XXX. 12. Cf. S. Bern. *Apolog.* IX. 21.

[1] *Reg. S. P. Bened.* XLI. It is interesting to read: "Sed et omni tempore, sive prandii sive cœnæ, refectionis hora sic temperetur, ut cum luce fiant omnia." A perennial system of "summer hours"!

[2] "Hactenus usque ad nonam jejunavimus soli: nunc usque ad vesperam jejunabunt nobiscum pariter universi."—*S. Bern. In Quadr. Serm.* III. 1. This indication of conformity in one detail suggests conformity in the rest. When Bernard proceeds to specify, among the *universi*, "reges et principes, clerus et populus, nobiles, et ignobiles, simul in unum dives et pauper," we are led to the conclusion that this disciplined life of the Cistercians was not without its effect upon the world outside the cloister.

[3] "Stramenta autem lectorum sufficiant matta, sagum et læna et capitale."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* LV. "*Matta Monachica*, apud Petrum Cluniac. lib. 2. Epist. 1, quæ Monachorum propria

explicit on the point that the first Cistercians rejected such bedding as infringed the Rule ; [1] probably the vice of personal proprietorship had invaded this department, as St. Benedict had anticipated.[2] They slept, novices and professed alike, each on his own rude couch, ready girt for the call of the nocturn office.[3] Naturally the question of cleanliness comes to mind. It may, therefore, be well to point out that the Rule, albeit placing some restriction upon the use of baths by the healthy and by the young, freely allows them to the sick ; [4] there can be little doubt but that what is thus forbidden is luxury and not hygiene. It is recorded of Bernard himself that, while he delighted in poverty of garb, yet, as might have been expected of so fastidious a nature, he was revolted by anything uncleanly.[5] The Rule prescribes for each monk a change of tunic and of cowl ; the same set of garments was not worn by night as was worn by day, and

habita est, quod et eas ipsimet texerent, in iis cubarent, orationes funderent, collationes haberent, extremum denique spiritum exhalarent."—" *Segum*, pro *Sagum*, Panni species, Gall. *Saie*." Du Cange, *s.vv. Læna*, Gk. χλαῖνα, " vestis duplicata." Stephanus, *s.v.* Capitale, " quod nos plumacium dicimus." Smaragdus *ap.* Martène, *loc. cit.*

[1] " Rejicientes a se quidquid Regulæ refragabatur . . . stramina lectorum."—*Exord. Parv.* XV.

[2] " Quæ tamen lecta frequenter ab abbate scrutinanda sunt propter opus peculiare, ne inveniatur."—*Reg. S. P. Bened. loc. cit.*

[3] " Singuli per singula lecta . . . vestiti dormiant, et cincti cingulis aut funibus."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* XXII. " Sine cuculla vero, 'tunica, caligis jacere non debent."—*Consuetud. Cisterc.* LXXXII. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 187.

[4] " Balnearum usus infirmis, quotiens expedit, offeratur. Sanis autem, et maxime juvenibus, tardius concedatur."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* XXXVI.

[5] " In vestibus ei paupertas semper placuit, sordes nunquam." —*Vita Prima*, III. ij. 5. The *Constitudines Cisterc.* LXXXI. (*ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 185) refer to a washing of the feet on Saturdays *ad collationem* : " Sabbatis quamdiu pedes lavantur."

provision was made for washing them.[1] The growth of the beard was regulated among the Cistercians by the requirement that the monks should shave themselves at certain intervals,[2] but the use of a comb was forbidden, probably as savouring of foppery.[3]

There is evidence that Bernard, with an ardour so excessive as to affect his health, embraced every opportunity of privation which presented itself, sowing thereby the seeds of a digestive disorder, from which, alas! he never recovered.[4] The single pound-weight of bread and the two portions of vegetables, with a chance apple or young greens, which the Rule prescribed,[5] were for him excessive.[6] Sleep was, in his view, but wasted time.[7] He made it his aim so far to mortify

[1] " Sufficit enim monacho duas tunicas et duas cucullas habere propter noctes, et propter lavare ipsas res."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* LV. In the context we read that the clothing was to be " secundum locorum qualitatem ubi habitant, vel ærum temperiem."

[2] There are minute directions as to tonsure and shaving seven times yearly to be found in the *Consuetudines Cisterc.* LXXXV. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 192.

[3] The *Consuetudines* (*loc. cit.*) speak of a *custos* of the combs, razors, etc., used at times of tonsure and shaving. The *Exord. Cisterc. Cœn. ap.* Guignard, 71, reads: " Rejicientes a se . . . pectines." For the ecclesiastical use of the *pecten* see Du Cange, *s.v.* It was usually made of ivory, and frequently " auro paratum."

[4] " A primo siquidem conversionis suæ anno, seu egressionis de cella novitiorum, natura ejus, cum teneræ nimis semper et delicatæ complexionis fuisset, jejuniis multis et vigiliis, frigore et labore, durioribus et continuis exercitiis attrita, corrupto stomacho, crudum continuo per os solet rejicere quod ingeritur."—*Vita Prima*, I. iv. 22.

[5] " Duo pulmentaria cocta fratribus omnibus sufficient. Et si fuerit unde poma aut nascentia leguminum, addatur et tertium. Panis libra una propensa sufficiat in die."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* XXXIX.

[6] " Etenim comesturus, priusquam comedat, sola cibi memoria satiatus est."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[7] " Nullum enim tempus magis se perdere conqueri solet, quam quo dormit, idoneam satis reputans comparationem mortis et somni."—*Vita Prima*, I. iv. 21.

his senses that they had no appreciation of objects other than as they directly ministered to the spirit. At the end of a whole year spent in the *cella novitiorum* he was unable to say whether the chamber was vaulted or not.[1] We have already mentioned the device which he adopted, during his novitiate, in order to protect himself against the idle talk of visitors.[2] The Rule lays stress upon the high value of taciturnity, and plainly Bernard early recognized the extent to which curiosity tends to stimulate the much speaking which is so frequent an occasion of sin.[3]

But the real inspiration of the Benedictine Order was the divine office; it was essentially that *Opus Dei* before which nothing was to be preferred.[4] According to the Rule, from November until Easter, the night office was recited at the eighth hour, two o'clock in the morning; but, at other times, it was recited at such an hour that, after a short interval, it might be followed by Lauds (*Matutini*) at daybreak.[5] The rest of the hours were duly recited through the day, beginning with Prime at six o'clock. In all this the Cistercians strictly conformed themselves to the tradition of St. Benedict.[6] The manner of recitation, to

[1] "Jam quippe annum integrum exegerat in cella novitiorum, cum exiens inde ignoraret adhuc an haberet domus ipsa testudinem, quam solemus dicere cælaturam."—*Vita Prima*, I. iv. 20.

[2] *Vita Quarta*, II. 1, quoted p. 86, note 3, *supra*.

[3] "Scriptum est: *In multiloquio non effugies peccatum*."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* VI. Cf. *ibid.* VII: "Nonus humilitatis gradus est, si linguam ad loquendum prohibeat monachus." See also Williams and Mills, *Select Treatises of S. Bernard*, 116 sqq.

[4] "Ad horam divini officii . . . relictis omnibus (quælibet fuerint in manibus), summa cum festinatione curratur . . . nihil operi Dei præponatur."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* XLIII.

[5] "Parvissimo intervallo, quo fratres ad necessaria naturæ exeant, custodito; mox Matutini, qui incipiente luce agendi sunt, subsequantur."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* VIII.

[6] For details concerning the early Cistercian Breviary see the

which the Rule refers as the *disciplina psallendi*, received special attention.[1] Geoffrey of Auxerre tells the story of how, in later days, Bernard might be seen passing among the monks in choir, moving them to a suitable rendering of the office in course.[2] Out of the twenty-four hours of day and night about six hours were occupied by Mass, the *Opus Dei* and prayer which centred round these two devotions.

It may be well, before passing to the subject of manual labour, to say something of the Chapter, which played an important part in the cœnobitic day. It is not explicitly ordered in the Rule, but the injunction laid upon the monk, who has offended even in a minor matter, to confess his offence publicly before the abbot or before the community and to make due satisfaction, presupposes frequent occasions of such judicial procedure as the Chapter is known to have afforded ;[3] rarely can a day have passed without the

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Consuetudines or *Usus Antiquiores*, to be found in Migne and in Guignard, *loc. cit.*, as well as in the *Nomasticon Cisterciense*. Cf. pp. 99 sq., *infra*.

[1] "Consideremus, qualiter oporteat in conspectu divinitatis et angelorum ejus esse ; et sic stemus ad psallendum, ut mens nostra concordet voci nostræ."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* XIX.

[2] "Abbas Gerardus de Moris, quod est monasterium proximum Claræ-Valli, testatus est nobis vidisse se eum aliquando psallentium fratrum circuire choros, et sicut frequenter agebat, excitare torpentes, ita ut affectuosius et virilius psalleretur quod reliquum fuit vigiliarum."—*Vita Prima*, IV. i. 3. *Virilius* would imply the prohibition of the *falsetto* voice. Cf. S. Bern. *In Cant. Cant. Serm.* XLVII. 8 ; "Non fractis et remissis vocibus muliebre quiddam balba de nare sonantes ; sed virili (ut dignum est) et sonitu et affectu." Thus we read in the *Instituta* (LXXI) : "Viros decet virili voce cantare, et non more femineo tinnulis . . . vocibus."

[3] The character of the offences contemplated may be inferred from the words: "Si quis, dum in labore quovis . . . vel in quocumque loco aliquid deliquerit, aut fregerit quidpiam, aut perdiderit, vel aluid quid excesserit ubi ubi. . . ."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* XLVI.

need of such procedure. The Chapter further gave the opportunity for allotting to each monk his daily task, and for discussing any business in hand. In earlier days it was probably held after Prime; with the Cistercians it followed Mass;[1] but, if there was no Community Mass, nevertheless the Chapter was held. The order of proceedings is set out in detail in the *Usus* (al. *Consuetudines*).[2] It was a regular exercise, with its own proper rites. It included versicles, *Gloria Patri*, *Kyrie eleison*, and the prayer, *Dirigere et sanctificare*. There was an appointed *lector*, who read an appointed passage from the Rule and the *commemoratio* of departed members and friends of the Order, which latter was followed by the *Requiescant in pace*. The *lector* was also charged with the duty of reading the *tabula* of the weekly, and perhaps daily, tasks assigned to each; and the ritual of the Chapter was so framed as to invoke the divine blessing upon the labours of the day.[3] The preliminary devotions and any necessary business concluded, there followed first the self-accusation,[4] and next the *clamatio*. The *clamatio* was nothing else

[1] "Post missam matutinalem sacrista pulset signum ad convocandos fratres in capitulum."—*Usus Antiq. Ord. Cisterc.* LXX. *ap.* Migne; *Consuetud. Cisterc.* LXX. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 167.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] "Lector . . . accipiens tabulam legat breve, si ipso die legendum fuerit."—*Usus Antiq. Ord. Cisterc. loc. cit.* Migne notes: "*Legat breve*, id est schedulam nomina officiariorum subsequentis hebdomadæ continentem." "S'il (le chapitre) était placé ainsi au début de la journée, c'etait pour que la tâche de chaque moine fût déterminée d'avance et la bénédiction de Dieu appelée sur l'œuvre des mains de ses serviteurs. De là le verset trois fois répété: *Deus in adjutorium. . . .*" -Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard*, I. 52.

[4] "Postea vero petat veniam qui se in aliquo reum noverit." —*Usus Antiq. Ord. Cisterc. loc. cit.*

than the expression of the mutual responsibility of the monks for their individual behaviour; its end was repentance; its use, in any given case, presupposed that the offender had failed to accuse himself, and was therefore unrepentant.[1] It was safeguarded against such abuses as mere careless observation, recrimination and suspicion.[2] It was conducted, as is shown by the directions concerning corporal punishment, with the utmost dignity and with outstanding courtesy.[3]

The Benedictines, after the example of their founder, regarded manual labour as peculiarly sacred.[4] According to the Rule the arrangements from Easter until the First of October involved manual work after Prime until about ten o'clock,[5] and again from after None until the evening.[6] The requirements of haying

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[1] "Si quis . . . non, veniens continuo ante abbatem vel congregationem, ipse ultro satisfecerit, et prodiderit delictum suum, dum per alium cognitum fuerit, majori subjaceat emendationi."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* XLVI.

[2] "Si autem culpabilem se non intelligit, qui eum clamaverit ipsam clamationem non repetat, nisi interrogatus . . . qui clamatus fuerit, non faciat clamationem ipsa die super illum qui eum clamavit. . . . Nullus faciat clamationem super aliquem ex sola suspicione."—*Usus Antiq. Ord. Cisterc. loc. cit.*

[3] "Caveat ille qui capitulum tenet ne ab eo verberetur, qui super eum clamavit. Qui verberandus . . . exuens cucullam ponat eam ante se super genua sua: per caputium vero tunicæ exerat brachia et totum corpus usque ad cingulum, et consistens inclinato capite nihil dicat nisi tantum, *mea culpa, ego me emendabo*, quod crebrius repetat . . . Qui autem eum verberat . . . adjuvet illum fratrem ad induendum . . . ille qui inferioris gradus est, non debet verberare superiorem. . . . Hoc etiam caveatur ne aliquis extra capitulum loquatur alicui, vel significet de culpis."—*Usus Antiq. Ord. Cisterc. loc. cit.*

[4] "Tunc vere monachi sunt, si labore manuum suarum vivunt, sicut et patres nostri et apostoli."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* XLVIII.

[5] "Exuentes a Prima usque ad horam pene quartam laborent quod necessarium fuerit."—*Reg. S. P. Bened. loc. cit.*

[6] "Et agatur Nona temperius mediante octava hora: et

and harvesting were recognized so far as to determine the hours of the divine office and of Mass.[1] During the winter, until Lent began, the hours of labour were from immediately after Terce, which was said at eight o'clock, until None.[2] During Lent manual work was done from nine to four o'clock, the time before Terce being devoted to reading, for which special provision was made in Lent.[3]

It is to be feared that Bernard's frail physique was ill-suited to the strenuous labour of the fields and of the woods; nor had the experience of his earlier days contributed much to his facility in such pursuits. Nevertheless, on the one hand, he did not spare himself, nor, on the other hand, did he quarrel with his limitations.[4] On one occasion, however, he was moved

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iterum quod faciendum est operentur usque ad Vesperam."—*Reg. S. P. Bened. loc. cit.*

[1] The LXXXIVth Chapter of the *Consuetudines, De tempore secationis et messionis*, deals with these requirements. It is plainly contemplated that in harvest "ad hanc missam quando conventus non adest, adjuvare debent minuti et infirmi."—*Ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 190 sqq. For the view of such obligations taken by Bernard see S. Bern. *In Cant. Cant. Serm.* L. 5: "Quoties pie cedit negotiorum tumultibus pia quies? Quoties bona conscientia ponitur codex, ut operi manuum insudetur? Quoties pro administrandis terrenis justissime ipsis supersedemus celebrandis Missarum solemniis?" Doubtless he expressed the Cistercian spirit.

[2] "Hora secunda agatur Tertia, et usque Nonam omnes in opus suum laborent quod eis injungitur."—*Reg. S.P. Bened. loc. cit.*

[3] "In Quadragesimæ vero diebus, a mane usque ad Tertiam plenam, vacent lectionibus suis, et usque decimam horam plenam operentur quod eis injungitur. In quibus diebus Quadragesimæ accipiant omnes singulos codices de bibliotheca, quos per ordinem et integro legant. Qui codices in caput Quadragesimæ dandi sunt."—*Reg. S. P. Bened. loc. cit.* Cf. *Consuetudines*, LXXI. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 172 *sq.*

[4] "Cum opus aliquod manuum fratres actitarent, quod seu minor usus ei, seu imperitia denegabat; fodiendo, seu ligna

to tears by the discovery that he really was a very poor harvester, being indeed forbidden to continue to take part in the common labour; but prayer won for him the necessary skill, and the conviction that he owed it solely to the gift of God was of itself the necessary strength.[1] It will be seen that in summer there was but little time given to reading,[2] except on Sundays and on other Feasts, at which times manual work was suspended; but in winter, as we have observed, approximately two hours were spent in intellectual work before Terce; and again after None in winter some three more hours were devoted to the same pursuit.[3] Thus in summer about two hours, in winter about five hours, were hours of study. Monks who preferred to give their time of mid-day rest in summer to reading would add to the two hours.[4] On Sundays in individual cases the hours of study may often have exceeded five.[5]

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cædendo, propriis humeris deportando, vel quibuslibet laboribus æque laboriosis illud redimebat. Ubi vero vires deficiebant, ad viliora quæque opera confugiens, laborem humilitate compensabat."—*Vita Prima*, I. iv. 23.

[1] "Cum ipse quasi impotens et nescius laboris ipsius, sedere sibi et requiescere juberetur, admodum contristus, ad orationem confugit, cum magnis lacrymis postulans a Deo donari sibi gratiam metendi. . . . Et ex illo die in labore illo præ cæteris peritum se esse cum quadam jucunditate gratulatur."—*Vita Prima*, I. iv. 24.

[2] "Ab hora autem quarta usque horam quasi Sextam lectioni vacent."—*Reg. S. P. Bened. loc. cit.*

[3] "Post refectionem autem vacent lectionibus suis, aut psalmis."—*Reg. S. P. Bened. loc. cit.* This *refectio* was not taken until a later hour during Lent, but none the less was the time given to reading.

[4] "Post Sextam autem, surgentes a mensa, pausent in lectis suis cum omni silentio; aut forte, qui voluerit legere sibi, sic legat ut alium non inquietet."—*Reg. S. P. Bened. loc. cit.*

[5] "Dominico item die lectioni vacent omnes, exceptis his qui variis officiis deputati sunt."—*Reg. S. P. Bened. loc. cit.*

Although the first Cistercians were not, as a body, learned men, one great literary monument witnesses to the fact that there were students to be found amongst them. St. Stephen Harding, perturbed by the large number of variants to be found in the MSS. of the Bible which came under his notice,[1] undertook a revision of the text of the Vulgate, based partly upon these Latin versions and partly upon the traditional Hebrew version used by the Jewish rabbis whom he was able to consult.[2] These latter evidently rendered him no little assistance, bringing to him their *exemplaires*, and translating into the vernacular such passages as he requested them to interpret.[3] It would appear that the errors throughout were chiefly of the nature of glosses which had invaded the Latin text, the greater number of which were to be found in the Books of the Kings.[4] The resultant version, " magno

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[1] " Non modice de dissonantia historiarum turbati sumus, quia hoc plena docet ratio, ut quod ab uno interprete, videlicet beato Hieronymo, quem, cæteris interpretibus omissis, nostrates jamjamque susceperant, de uno Hebraicæ veritatis fonte translatum est, unum debeat sonare."—S. Steph. Ab. Cisterc. *Censura de Aliquot Loc. Bibl. ap.* Migne, CLXVI. Col. 1374.

[2] " Unde nos multum de discordia nostrorum librorum, quos ab uno interprete suscepimus, admirantes, Judæos quosdam in sua Scriptura peritos adivimus, ac diligentissime lingua Romana inquisivimus de omnibus illis Scripturarum locis."—S. Steph. Ab. Cisterc. *op. cit.* Col. 1375. *Lingua Romana*, as distinct from *Lingua Latina*, was the vulgar tongue. Cf. *Vita Quarta, Epist. Joann. Erem. ad Petr. Tusc.* 2.

[3] " Suos libros plures coram nobis revolventes, et in locis illis ubi eos rogabamus, Hebraicam, sive Chaldaicam scripturam Romanis verbis nobis exponentes."—S. Steph. Ab. Cisterc. *loc. cit.*

[4] In the copies of the rabbis " partes vel versus, pro quibus turbabamur, minime repererunt. Quapropter Hebraicæ atque Chaldaicæ veritati, et multis libris Latinis, qui illa non habebant, sed per omnia duabus illis linguis concordabant, credentes, omnia illa superflua prorsus abrasimus, veluti in multis hujus libri locis

labore præparatum," as St. Stephen touchingly describes it, survives in its original manuscript, the precious possession of the Bibliothèque Publique de Dijon,[1] having been finished, as it testifies, in the year 1109.[2] St. Stephen left the strict injunction that no alteration, either textual or marginal, should be made in the MS.[3] How scrupulously this was obeyed may be known from the fact that an obvious and disturbing error at Matthew xxvii. 35, was only corrected at the particular request of the Archbishop of Lyons.[4] The correction occurs in a passage which forms part of the Palm Sunday Passion. By the kind offices of Monsieur Oursel, the distinguished Librarian of Dijon, it is possible to describe it precisely. The words italicized in the following excerpt were written after erasure of the primitive text, which latter was a little shorter

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apparet, et præcipue in libris Regum, ubi major pars erroris inveniebatur."—S. Steph. Ab. Cisterc. *op. cit.* Coll. 1375 *sq.*

[1] Dijon MS. 12–15 (9 *bis*). For various authorities on this work see Vacandard, *op. cit.* 57, n. (2).

[2] " Ut testatur hæc clausula: *Anno* 1109 *ab incarnatione Domini liber iste finem sumpsit scribendi, gubernante Stephano II. abbate cœnobium Cisterciense.*"—Migne, CLXVI. Col. 1376 n. (2).

[3] " Interdicimus etiam, auctoritate Dei et nostræ congregationis, ne quis . . . vel ungula sua per scripturam vel marginem ejus aliquid notare præsumat."—S. Steph. Ab. Cisterc. *op. cit.* Col. 1376. " Infra legitur: *Ex actis capit. gen. ord. Cisterc. anni* 1196."—Migne, *loc. cit.* n. (2). It was thus a direction endorsed by the authority of the Order.

[4] " *Ex actis capituli generalis ord. Cisterc. anni* 1196. Ad petitionem Domini quondam Lugdunensis archiepiscopi, qua petit emendari lectionem evangelicam de Passione Domini, quæ juxta Matthæum in Ramis Palmarum legitur, injungitur abbati de Firmitate, ut in Cluniacensi et Lugdunensi ecclesia quid inde sentiant, diligenter inquirat, et in sequenti Capitulo studeat nuntiare. *Anno* 1200. Scribatur in textu beati Matthæi evangelistæ ubi deest, *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea.* Hæc censura invenitur in codice Bibliorum apud Cisterciense monasterium."—Migne, *loc. cit.* n. (2).

than what is now found ; but the hand of the correction is contemporary with that of the primitive text. " Postquam autem *crucifixerunt eum, diviserunt vestimenta ejus sortem mittentes, ut impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem : Diviserunt igitur vestimenta mea et super vestem meam miserunt sortem. Et sedentes servabant eum* et imposuerunt." No place having been found vacant in the line for the words *servabant eum*, they were written in the margin in the same hand. Thus, in order to insert the words omitted, " diviserunt igitur vestimenta mea," the context in which they occur was, to the extent of some five and twenty words, re-written.

But, in truth, necessity compelled the reformers to manuscript work. On their arrival from Molesme they had, if anything, little else than the Breviary and the Missal. When St. Robert returned thither it was only by an act of grace that they were able to retain the Breviary.[1] Later, under the rule of St. Stephen, they set themselves to the task of constructing a complete Cistercian formulary, including therein not only the Breviary and the Missal, but all the liturgical books necessary to the due performance of the services of the choir and of the altar.[2] Something of the result

[1] The MS. of this Breviary, Dijon 30 (12), bears a note of the XIIth century at folio 10 to the effect that the Cistercians were able, by an arrangement with Molesme, to keep possession of this relic of their founder. M. Oursel writes of this MS. : " il n'est pas douteux qu'il ait été possédé par saint Robert et amené par lui à Cîteaux." Another interesting note on the same folio (10) reads as follows : " Ordo non acceptavit præcedens Kalendarium nec sequentem litaniam."

[2] " *Mores idem sint in cœnobiis omnibus* . . . opportunum nobis videtur, et hoc etiam volumus, ut mores et cantum et omnes libros ad horas diurnas et nocturnas, et ad missas necessarios, secundum formam morum et librorum Novi Monasterii possideant."—S. Steph. Ab. Cisterc. *Charta Charit.* I. ij. " Missale, epistolare, textus . . . psalterium, lectionarium, kalendarium,

of their labours may be seen in the detailed instructions given throughout the *Consuetudines* (*Usus*), a treatise dating, as we have seen, from a period not very long subsequent to that of the *Charta Charitatis*.[1] The most complete and the earliest collection of Cistercian liturgical books known is a MS. to be found in the Bibliothèque Publique de Dijon; [2] it is, unfortunately, mutilated, lacking the Psalter, Canticles, Hymnary,[3] Antiphonary and Gradual. The loss is irreparable, for, in addition to his general supervision, Bernard contributed a preface to the Antiphonary, in effect, a treatise *De Cantu*.[4] The *lacuna* existed so early as the year 1480, the date of the inventory of the Cîteaux library made by Abbot Jean de Cirey.[5] This liturgical MS. represents, it should be remembered, a recension of the books in the first instance provided by St. Stephen. The Antiphonary of Metz had a great reputation as being genuine Gregorian, and St. Stephen

ubique uniformiter habeantur."—*Instituta*, III. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 250.

[1] *Vide* p. 84, note 1, *supra.*

[2] Dijon MS. 114 (82), edited by Guignard, and dated by him between 1173 and 1191. Guignard, *Mon. Prim. de la Règle Cisterc.* III. *sqq.* Cabrol (*Dict. d'Arch. Chrét. et de Liturg.* III. 2. Col. 1784) quotes the inscription to the table of contents, as indicating its importance: "Præsens liber sit exemplar invariabile ad conservandam uniformitatem et corrigendam in aliis diversitatem."—*Vide* Guignard, *op. cit.* VIII.

[3] For the Ambrosian hymns the authorities at Milan were consulted. Cabrol, *op. cit.* Coll. 1781 and 1805. For the importance of the *Ambrosianum* see *Reg. S. P. Bened.* IX, XII, XIII and XVII. "Cantus et hymnos Ambrosianos, quantum ex Mediolano addiscere potuerunt, frequentant in divinis officiis." —Guill. Malm. *loc. cit.*

[4] This treatise, entitled *Epistola, seu Prologus super Antiphonarium Cisterciensis Ordinis*, is to be found in Mabillon. *S. Bern. Opp.* Tom. II. xiij. 693 *sqq.*, and in Migne, CLXXXII. Coll. 1121 sqq.

[5] Dijon MS. 358. Cf. Guignard, *op. cit.* V.

sent to have it transcribed. Although, upon examination, it was held to be corrupt, it was, nevertheless, adopted; and it was used by the Cistercians until, at a later date, the task of emending it was entrusted by the Order to Bernard and his cantors.[1] The Cistercians were, however, mistaken; the Metz plain-chant was on sound lines, and Bernard's emendations were considerably influenced by popular prejudice; "l'antiphonaire de Metz était vraiment grégorien, et les correcteurs furent trop esclaves des règles données par les traités *De musica* en vogue à l'époque . . . ils se fièrent trop à leur oreille et à leur goût." [2]

At this stage, however, Bernard, as yet but a novice or a very young monk, was scarcely occupied in such a matter. What chiefly concerned him as a student was the Bible; a merely cursory reading of his works reveals no less; he may almost be said to think in the language of the sacred Scriptures. To him to dwell in pleasant meditation upon the inspired text was, as it were, to find the foul cesspit of the world flooded by the cleansing rain from heaven, or tranquilly to chew the cud on fragrant pasture-land.[3] As he laboured,

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[1] Bernard refers to the Metz Antiphonary as discovered to be "vitiosum . . . ac pene per omnia contemptibile." He goes on to state: "Tandem aliquando non sustinentibus jam fratribus nostris abbatibus Ordinis, cum mutari et corrigi placuisset, curæ nostræ id operis injunxerunt."—*Super Antiphon. ad init.* Cf. Baluz. *Miscell.* IV. ij. (13). Abélard (*Opp. Pars I. Epist.* X., *ad Bern. Clar. Ab. ap.* Migne, CLXXVIII. Col. 339) found fault with the Cistercian liturgical books. For example: "Pace vestra, hymnos solitos respuistis, et quosdam apud nos inauditos, et fere omnibus Ecclesiis incognitos, ac minus sufficientes, introduxistis. . . . Et, quod mirabile est, cum omnia oratoria vestra in memoria matris Dominicæ fundetis, nullam ejus commemorationem, sicut nec cæterorum sanctorum, ibi frequentatis. Processionum fere totam venerationem a vobis exclusistis."

[2] R. Trilhe, *ap.* Cabrol, *op. cit.* Col. 1807.

[3] "Verum tamen terrenum habentibus sterquilinium, ipsa

whether in the fields or in the woods, Nature taught him in her school the true meaning of the sacred words; he had, he was wont, with a smile, to tell his friends, no masters like the beeches and the oaks.[1] We must not, however, suppose that Bernard claimed for himself any special insight in this respect; he was, William of St. Thierry tells us, a humble and diligent student of the expositions of the saints, a loyal adherent of the orthodox interpreters of Holy Writ.[2]

The Rule of St. Benedict left no hour of the day vacant for anything corresponding to recreation in our modern sense of the term. The restraint of conversation was, we know, emphasized;[3] and it was, probably, only in the evening before Compline, after the usual reading of the Collations,[4] that is to

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quoque cælestis non deest pluvia: quæ est orationum devotio, jucunda ruminatio psalmodiæ, dulcis meditatio, consolatio Scripturarum."—S. Bern. *In Fest. SS. App. Petr. et Paul. Serm.* II. 2.

[1] "Quidquid in Scripturis valet, quidquid in eis spiritualiter sentit, maxime in silvis et in agris meditando et orando se confitetur accepisse; et in hoc nullos aliquando se magistros habuisse, nisi quercus et fagos, joco illo suo gratioso inter amicos dicere solet."—*Vita Prima*, I. iv. 23. "Experto crede: aliquid amplius invenies in silvis quam in libris. Ligna et lapides docebunt te quod a magistris audire non possis."—S. Bern. *Epist.* CVI. 2. The Abbé Vacandard regards Bernard as having been indifferent to the beauty of nature as such, and instances his recorded ignorance that he had journeyed a whole day along the shore of the Lake of Geneva (*Vita Secunda*, XVI. 45). *Op. cit.* 60. But may he not have been rapt in contemplation at the time?

[2] "Sanctos tamen et orthodoxos earum expositores humiliter legens, nequaquam eorum sensibus suos sensus æquabat, sed subjiciebat formandos: et vestigiis eorum fideliter inhærens, sæpe de fonte unde illi hauserant, et ipse bibebat."—*Vita Prima*, I. iv. 24.

[3] "Omni tempore silentium debent studere monachi, maxime tamen nocturnis horis."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* XLII.

[4] As regards the term *Collatio* applied to this custom,

say, the Lives of the Fathers or some other edifying work, that there was any relaxation on this point. Leave to speak was granted but seldom, even to the older monks, and then only to the end of spiritual profit; idle talk and witticism were strictly banned.[1] Geoffrey of Auxerre testifies to the success with which Bernard conformed himself to this restraint;[2] his sense of the danger of *multiloquium*, even of the risk to which the monk was exposed during the short space of time allowed for conversation, may be gathered from his sermon *De Triplici Custodia*.[3]

A system of sign-speech was later elaborated. Udalricus, the writer of the *Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniaci Monasterii*, who is favourably mentioned by

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Smaragdus would suggest that it has the sense of conference, and Du Cange (*s.v.*) seems to endorse this view. "De Scripturis divinis aliis conferentibus interrogationes, conferunt alii congruas responsiones, et sic quæ diu latuerant occulta, conferentibus patefiunt perspicua."—Smaragd. *Expos. In Regulam*, XLII. But Joannes de Turre Cremata (*Expos. in Reg. S. Bened. Tract.* cvij. *in Cap.* XLII) writes: "Recte electi sunt libri Collationum, et Vitæ patrum sanctorum"; and Martène (*Regula Comment.* XLII) notes: "*Collationes*. Quales descripsit Cassianus." The *Collationes Patrum Sceticorum* of St. John Cassian were very commonly selected as peculiarly suitable for the purpose, and are, indeed, specified in the Rule. "Sedeant omnes in unum, et legat unus Collationes vel Vitas Patrum, aut certe aliud quod ædificet audientes."—*Reg. S. P. Bened. loc. cit.*

[1] "Perfectis discipulis, propter taciturnitatis gravitatem, rara loquendi concedatur licentia. . . . Scurrilitates vero vel verba otiosa et risum moventia, æterna clausura in omnibus locis damnamus."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* VI.

[2] "Ex ore ejus frequenter audivimus, dum cachinnos religiosorum hominum miraretur, 'non meminisse se a primis annis suæ conversionis aliquando sic risisse, ut non potius ad ridendum, quam ad reprimendum sibi vim facere oporteret; et risui suo stimulum magis adhibere, quam frenum.'"—*Vita Prima*, III. ij. 5.

[3] *De Diversis*, XVII. 3. "Libet confabulari, aiunt, donec hora prætereat. O donec prætereat hora! O donec pertranseat tempus!"

Mabillon, gives a list of nearly forty signs, of which all but five are signs of various articles of food and drink, and are intended for use at table.[1] This system was, doubtless, necessitated by the strictness of the regulations described by Udalricus in the chapter *De Silentio et in quibus officinis;* the latter were the church, the dormitory, the refectory and the *coquina regularis*; the prohibition of conversation was binding by day and by night; even by way of antiphon or of response no word might be spoken, unless the eye were at the moment on the book.[2] Whatever respect

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[1] "Tunc in Cluniacensi monasterio florebat Udalricus, sæpe jam a nobis laudatus, qui hoc tempore consuetudines sacri illius loci tribus libris digessit, eosque Willelmo Hirsaugiensi abbati, cujus hortatu id operis susceperat, nuncupavit."—Mabill. *Annal. Bened.* V. lxvi (ciij). *an.* 1085. 220. "Erat is ex illustri Bajoariorum prosapia Ratisponæ ortus."—Mabill. *op. cit.* IV. lx (xviij), *an.* 1052. 531. Cf. Udalrici Cluniac. Monach. *Antiq. Consuetud. Cluniac. Monast.* II. iv. *De Signis loquendi, ap.* Lucæ Dacherii (d'Achéry) *Spicilegium,* IV. 119 *sqq.*, also *ap.* Migne, CXLIX. Coll. 703 sqq. "De ipsis autem signis ut aliqua ponam, verbi gratia, et primum quæ ad victum pertinent. . . . Pro signo panis qui coquitur in aqua, et melior esse solet quam quotidianus, generali signo panis præmisso, hoc adde ut interiora manus super alterius manus exteriora ponas, et ita superiorem manum quasi unguendo vel imbuendo circumferas. . . . Plura sunt quæ adhuc dicere possem, sed cum modo meminerim quibus sum locutus, video quod nec opus fuerit tantum dixisse de hujusmodi re, et ut ait ille, in sylvam ligna contulisse."

[2] "Opus quoque habet ut signa diligenter addiscat, quibus tacens quomodo loquatur, quia postquam adunatus fuerit ad Conventum, licet ei rarissime loqui . . . si vel una Antiphona, vel Responsorium, vel aliquod aliud tale absque libro nominaverit, et in libro simul cum emissione verbi non viderit, de hoc non aliud quam plane silentium censetur infregisse."—Udalric. *op. cit.* II. iij. Martène quotes various uses in various houses; Adalard (*Stat. Ant. Ab. Corbeiens.* II. 6. *ap.* d'Achéry, *Spicileg.* IV. 19) mentions the dormitory, amongst other places, as a *locus tam colloquendi quam conjungendi. Vide* Martin. *Reg. Comment.* VI. *ap.* Migne, LXVI. Coll. 361 and 363.

may have been paid to such injunctions in the last quarter of the eleventh century, the great *Caput Ordinis*, Cluny itself, must have suffered from a lamentable decadence less than fifty years later, for it to have been possible for Bernard to charge its inmates with a loquacity which excused itself as affability and with an immoderate laughter which passed for apostolic cheerfulness.[1]

In the Cistercian novitiate, however, there was, we may be sure, a close and careful watch-and-ward upon every thought, emotion and sense-perception, prescribed with an insistence which marked it as no merely temporary measure, but as the discipline of a lifetime. And yet, persuasively commending it, there was instinctively felt the protecting, guiding, cherishing atmosphere of a nursery, the nursery of a home. The Benedictine monastery is essentially domestic; the Rule is so framed as to ensure the domestic ethos at every stage in the monastic life. True, the entrance to such a home is not too readily granted.[2] The absolute surrender of self is sufficiently symbolized by the ceremonies of clothing the novice on his profession, outlined in the Rule, and described in further detail in the *Consuetudines*.[3] But, just because he belongs to the community,[4] the individual monk has such a value

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[1] "Silentium tristitia reputatur . . . dicitur . . . loquacitas affabilitas, cachinnatio jucunditas."—S. Bern. *Apol. ad Guill. Ab.* VIII. 16.

[2] "Noviter veniens quis ad conversionem, non ei facilis tribuatur ingressus. . . . Prædicentur ei omnia dura et aspera, per quæ itur ad Deum."—*Reg. S. P. Bened.* LVIII. "Exponat abbas asperitatem ordinis, voluntatem ejus exquirens."—*Consuetud.* CII. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 219.

[3] *Reg. S. P. Bened. loc. cit. Consuetud.* CII. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 220 sq.

[4] Of the act of renunciation, made at profession, the Rule says: "Nihil sibi reservans ex omnibus, quippe qui ex illo die

as is that of a beloved only son in the estimation of the fondest of mothers.[1]

All this Bernard would have keenly appreciated; the very fidelity of his affection to Aleth, an affection intensified by the constant sense of their mutual communion, as close still as in early childhood, and doubly sealed by their common death to all mundane interests; such fidelity would have assured to Bernard the full enjoyment of the wealth of spiritual love, into the lifelong possession of which he entered, with his thirty companions, after their year's novitiate, on the day of his profession.

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nec proprii corporis potestatem se habiturum sciat."—*Reg. S. P. Bened. loc. cit.*

[1] "Inter se namque tanta charitate ardebant, ut si cuilibet contigisset, propter communem utilitatem longius abesse, quod tanta dilectione desiderabatur ab omnibus, ut nulla mater amplius unicum filium desiderasse potuisset, usque dum rediret. Reddito propriis, statim super collum ejus in osculum ruebant fraterno affectu, implentes illud quod Dominus dicit in Evangelio: *Tunc vere discipuli mei eritis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem.*"—*Antiq. Consuetud. Monast. Ord. S. Bened.* 12. S. Sturmii Fuldens. Ab. *ap.* Migne, LXXXIX. Col. 1264.

IV

CLAIRVAUX

It has been remarked that the arrival at Cîteaux of Bernard and his companions assured the perpetuity of the Order at a moment when its ranks were so depleted as to suggest its imminent extinction.[1] Such, however, was its recuperative energy, consequent upon this event,[2] that in the very next year it planted its first colony at La Ferté-sur-Grône, in the diocese of Châlons-sur-Saône, upon land granted by Savaricus and William, Counts of Châlons. The brethren left Cîteaux on May 17th, 1113, and the next day the site of the new abbey was consecrated by Walter, Bishop of Châlons, and Jocerannus, Bishop of Langres.[3]

[1] P. 83, *supra*. Petit refers to an epidemic, which carried off a number of monks at Cîteaux, shortly before Bernard arrived there. Petit, *Hist. des ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne*, I. 307.

[2] "Post non multum vero temporis Abbas Stephanus, honestate morum conspicuus, secundum dispositionem Dei novellæ illius plantationis pater, de fructu quem sibi Deus dederat, cum multiplici augmento oblationem Deo facere decernens, transmisso conventu, inchoavit abbatiam, Firmitatem dictam. Duas quoque alias in brevi, Pontiniacum scilicet et Vallem-Absinthialem, quæ nunc Clara-Vallis dicitur."—*Vita Quarta*, II. 2.

[3] "Prima Cistercii filia, ad Gronam fluvium diœcesis Cabilon. fundatores agnoscit Savaricum et Guillelmum comites Cabilonenses, qui Cisterciensibus monachis territorium hereditatis suæ ad congregationem, quæ Deo famularetur, contulerunt."—

Scarcely had a year elapsed when a second foundation was effected. Pontigny (*Pontiniacus*) still remains to us so far as that in its great church, built for the most part between the years 1150 and 1170, we may behold to-day what is perhaps the finest architectural product of the true Cistercian spirit.[1] An earlier church existed, apparently as the parish church of Pontigny, the priest of which, one Ansius, was largely instrumental in bringing the Cistercians thither, although Bernard's disciple and friend, Hugh of Mâcon, the first Abbot of Pontigny, is usually spoken of as the founder, and the establishment owed much both to the diocesan, Humbold, Bishop of Auxerre and to William, the feudal lord of the place.[2] According to the Cistercian custom, in regard of the foundation of daughter-houses,

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Gall. Christ, IV. 1019. Cf. *Angel. Manrici Annales Cisterc. an.* 1113. III. 4 & 5. La Ferté (*Firmitas*) was on the north bank of the river Grône, an affluent of the Saône, near the south-eastern border of the Forêt de la Ferté, and about 12 miles from Châlons-sur-Saône. Saveric de Donzy was the uncle of William, Count of Châlons. Petit, *Hist. des ducs de Bourgogne*, I. 309.

[1] Pontigny is in the Department of Yonne, about 12 miles north-east of Auxerre and some 5 or 6 miles from St. Florentin on the Laroche-Dijon line. It has special interests for an Englishman, as having given asylum for a while to St. Thomas of Canterbury, to St. Edmund of Canterbury, and also to the exiled Stephen Langton and his suffragans. "L'église . . . est d'une homogénéité parfaite, et semble être d'un seul jet." De Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie*, II. 276. It was built by Theobald IV, Count of Champagne, with the exception of the choir, which is thirteenth-century work. Cf. Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 4.

[2] "Quidam sacerdos vera religione non mediocriter adornatus, Ansius nomine, in Autissiodorensi territorio degens, rogavit domnum Stephanum Novi monasterii abbatem et monachos ejusdem loci, ut in loco suo, qui Pontiniacus dicebatur, monachis ibidem collocatis, abbatiam ordinarent. . . . Assensu ac dono auctoritateque Humbaldi episcopi et totius capituli eccelesiæ suæ ac venerabilis sacerdotis Ansii, suscepit domnus Stephanus abbas Pontiniacensem ecclesiam ad abbatiam inibi ordinandam

twelve monks were sent,[1] specially selected men, with Hugh of Mâcon as their appointed abbot.[2] It is noteworthy that St. Stephen evidently required certain reasonable conditions to be fulfilled before giving his consent to the proposal.[3]

The third foundation of these early years was that of Clairvaux.[4] It is plain that in this foundation a considerable part was played by Hugh, Count of Troyes.[5] The actual details of his benefaction may be a little obscure, but judging from the *Cartularium Clarevallense*, as well as from the language of Bernard himself,[6] we need not hesitate to accord Hugh the

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. . . Videns autem abbas angustiam Pontiniaci loci in campis et silvis, aliisque proficuis futurorum monachorum, bonæ famæ Willelmum illius regionis comitem obsecrat ut sua largitate locum eumdem adaugeat."—*Hist. Pontin. Monast. ap. Martin. et Durand. Thesaur. Nov. Anecdot.* III. 1223 sq. For Hugh of Mâcon (*Hugo de Vitreio*) see pp. 68 sqq., *supra.*

[1] "Duodecim monachi cum abbate tercio ad cenobia nova transmittantur."—*Consuetud. Cisterc. Super Instituta,* XII. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 253.

[2] The day of the foundation of Pontigny in the year 1114 is variously given. Henriquez and most authorities, as Janauschek among moderns, give May 31st. Beaunier (*Recueil des Abbayes de France,* II. 842) has July 1st.

[3] "Rebus ita dispositis . . . duodecim illuc regularis vitæ monachos misit, quibus abbatem præfecit Hugonem."—*Hist. Pontin. Monast. ap. op. cit.* 1225 sq. Cf. p. 113, note 2, *infra.*

[4] The site was in the valley of the Aube, to the east of the forest of Clairvaux, 8 miles south-east of Bar-sur-Aube and 35 miles east-south-east of Troyes.

[5] Hugh was also entitled Count of Champagne. The deed of gift whereby the land at Clairvaux was conveyed is, as given *ex autographo Clarævallensi* (Troyes MS. 2414), apocryphal, although it was credited by Piolin (*Gall. Christ. IV. Instr.* 155), and by Chifflet (*De Illustr. Gen. S. Bern.* 513) following Horstius and Mabillon. The more reliable form is given in the *Cartularium Clarevallense.* Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard,* I. 64. n. (2).

[6] Possumusne oblivisci antiqui amoris, et beneficiorum quæ domui nostræ tam largiter contulisti ?"—S. Bern. *Ep.* XXXI.

title of founder ; there is no one else to lay claim to it ; moreover Hugh held the County of Bar-sur-Aube, in which the district of Clairvaux was included. There are, however, associated with him in the *Cartularium Clarevallense*, and also in the apocryphal form of donation, the names of Geoffrey Felonie (*al.* Félénie), Josbert de la Ferté,[1] and Raynald de Perrecin, Strange to say, we find Manriquez, usually a good authority, speaking of Clairvaux as having been established " incerto fundatore." [2]

Doubtless it was, at the time, matter for surprise that one so young and so frail as was Bernard was selected to be the head of a new settlement, and that in so forbidding a locality ; but St. Stephen was not mistaken in his choice.[3] Amongst the twelve brethren over whom Bernard presided were his brothers, Gerard, Guy and Andrew,[4] his uncle Gaudry,[5] his cousin Godfrey de la Roche,[6] and a monk by name Gilbert.[7] The little band set forth, provided with the simple

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[1] Josbert was kin to Bernard, and La Ferté-sur-Aube was a town very near to Clairvaux. " Virum nobilem et ipsius quoque secundum carnem propinquum, Josbertum de Firmitate, quod est oppidum proximum monasterio."—*Vita Prima*, I. ix. 43.

[2] Angel. Manrici *Annal. Cisterc. anno.* 1115. I. 4.

[3] " Quibus abeuntibus ipsum etiam domnum Bernardum præfecit abbatem, mirantibus sane illis, tanquam maturis et strenuis tam in religione quam in sæculo viris, et timentibus ei tum pro tenerioris ætate juventutis, tum pro corporis infirmitate, et minori usu exterioris occupationis."—*Vita Prima*, I. v. 25.

[4] *Vita Prima*, I. vi. 27 & 30 ; ix. 43 & 45. Cf. iv. ii. 10.

[5] *Vita Prima*, I. ix. 43 & 45.

[6] *Vita Prima*, II. v. 29. Godfrey was " cognatus B. Bernardi. Hic de primis filiis ejus fuit, qui præsens cœnobium in suo sanguine fundaverunt." He became third Prior of Clairvaux ; afterwards he was the first Abbot of Fontenay, and later Bishop of Langres. Henric. *Fascic. SS. Ord. Cisterc.* II. xli (4). 411 sq. *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 1556. *Vide* pp. 53, 67, *supra.*

[7] *Vita Quarta*, II. 3.

necessaries of the *Opus Dei* and of the service of the altar, and took the direction of La Ferté-sur-Aube, the home of Josbert, Bernard's cousin, distant from Cîteaux some 90 miles, passing on to the little hamlet of Ville, where Bernard again found himself among his kindred.[1] It was just at this spot that, on the left bank of the Aube, there opened a valley down which flowed a little stream. The valley lay open to the east, and a short distance from its entrance it bifurcated to the north-west and the south-west, the latter branch being watered by the stream. William of St. Thierry describes the solitude of the place and the terror which it inspired. It had been the haunt of bandits, and this fact, added to its natural features, had earned for it the name of the Vale of Absinth.[2] It is probable, however, that at the date of the foundation of the abbey the name Clairvaux was already usual; William of St. Thierry refers to the locality as "of old time" (*antiquitus*) called the Vale of Absinth, and similar language occurs in the *Vita Secunda;*[3] moreover the deed of gift speaks of "the place called Clairvaux."[4] The notion that this name was derived from the new use to which the place was put is of

[1] "Mater hujus Ascelinæ (*sc.* Burlencuriae priorissæ) beati Bernardi et episcopi Godefridi fuit consanguinea, de Villa juxta Firmitatem super Albam procreata."—*Chron. Clarevall. ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 1250.

[2] "Erat autem Clara-Vallis locus in territorio Lingonensi, non longe a fluvio Alba, antiqua spelunca latronum, quæ antiquitus dicebatur Vallis Absinthialis, seu propter abundantis ibi absinthii copiam, seu propter amaritudinem doloris incidentium ibi in manus latronum."—*Vita Prima*, I. v. 25. William goes on to say that they settled in this place of horror and vast solitude, "facturi de spelunca latronum templum Dei, et domum orationis."

[3] "Erat autem Clara-Vallis locus . . . quæ Absinthialis Vallis antiquitus dicebatur."—*Vita Secunda*, VI. 18.

[4] "Locum ipsum qui vocatur Claravallis."—*Vide* p. 109, note 5, *supra.*

later origin.[1] The received opinion is that the day of the foundation was June 25th, 1115.[2] It was little more than three years since, in the spring of 1112, Bernard and Hugh had been admitted to Clairvaux. It would not be true to say that Bernard had prematurely grown; there never was a character less precocious than was his. Rather was he a born leader of men, nay, a leader born to take a certain direction and to be sure of a following. As Abbot of Clairvaux, at the age of twenty-five, he was the same magnetic personality that he had been as a schoolboy at Châtillon-sur-Seine, only the area of his attraction was immeasurably increased. He was placed upon a vantage-ground, the value of which was daily increased, and that not merely by the growth of his reputation. For the state of things was such as would have been impossible but for the fact that he created in every disciple the ardour of apostleship; none fell under his influence without becoming in some measure like him. The fire was handed on until literally hundreds were soon aflame. Not only was Clairvaux itself besieged, and occupied to repletion—its numbers at Bernard's death amounting to something like 700—but its daughter-houses became numerous beyond expectation.[3]

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[1] Thus, John of Ypres (*ob.* 1383) writes: "Nunc autem re mutata cum nomine, Clarevallis est appellata propter clara sanctitatis opera."—Iohan. Iperii *Chronicon Eccl. S. Bertini, ap.* Martin. et Durand. *Thes. Nov. Anecd.* III. 611. Cf. the verse quoted by Manriquez (*Annal. Cisterc. anno.* 1115. II. 5): "In vallem claram vallem convertit amaram."

[2] Cf. Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard* (1re édition), I. 63. note. The *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense* (II. 1. *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 415) reads: "Ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo quinto decimo fundata est domus Claræ-Vallis." The *tabula* on Bernard's tomb added "in mense Junio."—*Acta Bolland.* 60. *ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 669.

[3] 'Quis numeret eos qui sub ejus cura in centum sexaginta

The difficulty of conducting the novitiate must have been considerable from the very outset; but there can be little doubt but that, in large measure, Bernard in the early stages dealt with it himself personally—that he was practically, so long as was possible, his own novice-master.[1]

After the simplest, and only the most necessary, provision had been made for the *Opus Dei*, the service of the altar and the shelter of the monks,[2] the consideration arose that Bernard had not yet received the priesthood. Joceran, Bishop of Langres, the diocesan, was at the time absent, and it was arranged that Bernard, accompanied by another monk, Elbold, should go to Châlons-sur-Marne, there to be ordained

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monasteriis per Dei benignitatem ad pœnitentiam sunt adducti? . . . præter eos qui per alia loca fuerant propagati, ea die qua felicissimus pater ex Clara-Valle montem ascendere meruit clariorem, reliquit habitantes in ea septingentas ferme animas, Domino servientes."—*Vita Prima* V. iij. 20. The *Exordium Magn. Cisterc.* (*Excerpta in Vita Prima*, VII. xij. 16) speaks of Bernard as "implens cellam probationis multitudine novitiorum, quorum numerus aliquando ad centum extendebatur, ita ut ad horas divini officii, novitiis chorum replentibus, exceptis paucis senioribus, qui disciplinæ providebant, monachi foris stare cogerentur." The list of *direct* foundations from Clairvaux during Bernard's lifetime, amounting to sixty-eight, is to be found in Janauschek's *Originum Cisterciensium* I.; it is reproduced, with corrected dates, in Vacandard's *Vie de saint Bernard*, II. Appendix.

[1] "Sanctæ recordationis dominus Henricus, Vitæ-Scholæ, quod est cœnobium in Dacia de linea Claræ-Vallis, primus abbas, referre solebat, quia cum esset novitius in Clara-Valle, et nonaginta tirones in cella probatoria sub disciplina beati Bernardi instituerentur. . . ."—*Vita Prima*, VII (*Excerpt. ex Exord. Magn. Cisterc.*). xxix. 63.

[2] *The Consuetudines Cistercienses*, XII. (*ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 253) lay down, in the case of a new foundation, "nec tamen illuc (monachi) destinentur donec locus libris, domibus et necessariis aptetur." Cf. p. 109, note 3, *supra*.

by the bishop, William of Champeaux.[1] It is probable that this prelate at the same time and place formally appointed him Abbot of Clairvaux.[2] An amusing incident in this connection is recorded by William of St. Thierry. The *entourage* of the bishop, struck by the marked contrast between the age and bearing of the two visitors, made merry over the question as to whether of them was the future abbot.[3] Between William of Champeaux and Bernard a close friendship was from that day sealed, and thereafter the interchange of hospitality was frequent between them;[4] moreover, it was in large measure the example of the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne which helped to carry the influence of Bernard throughout the length and breadth of Gaul.[5]

For some little time the imperative necessity of providing sufficient accommodation for the large influx of postulants demanded attention. With our eyes upon Dom Milley's plan, we find how small an area of the later enclosure is covered by what was called the *Monasterium Vetus*.[6] This was a building of two

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[1] *Vita Prima*, I. vij. 31. *Gall. Christ.* IX. 877.

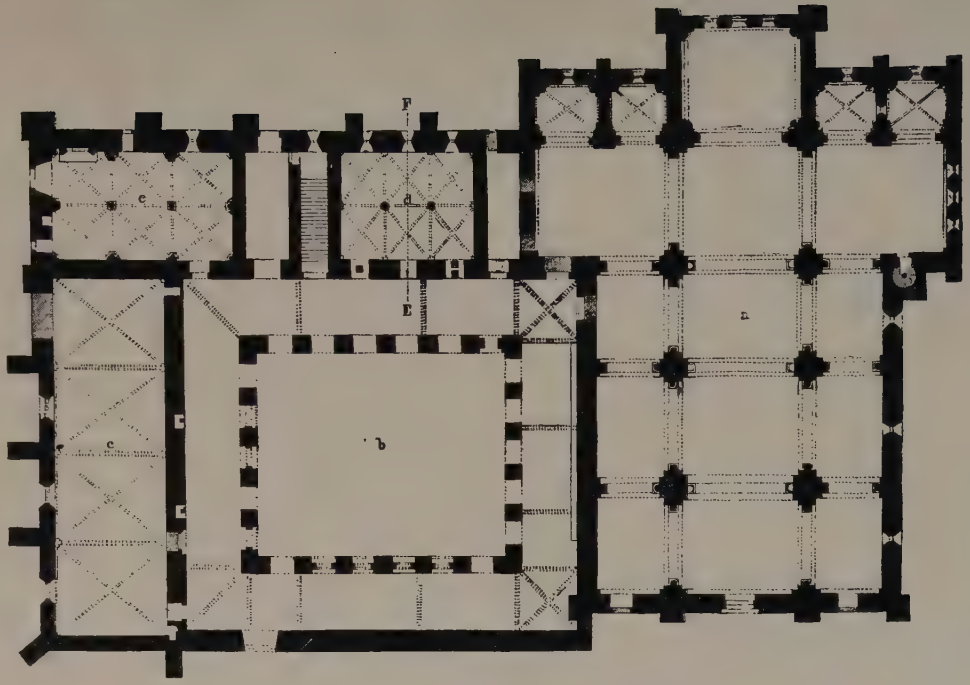
[2] "Clarævalli divus Bernardus, tunc tertium in ordine annum agens, abbas præficeretur, essetque a Catalaunensi episcopo in sacerdotium simul atque abbatem initiatus."—Méglinger, *Iter. Cisterc.* 61.

[3] *Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[4] "Ex illa die et ex illa hora facti sunt cor unum et anima una in Domino, in tantum ut sæpe alter alterum hospitem deinceps haberet, et propria esset domus episcopi Clara-Vallis."—*Vita Prima, loc. cit.* For further details as to William of Champeaux see p. 123, note 1, *infra.*

[5] "Quinetiam et Remensis provincia, et Gallia tota per eum in devotionem excitata est ad reverentiam viri Dei. Ab illo siquidem tanto episcopo cæteri didicerunt suscipere eum, et revereri tanquam angelum Dei."—*Vita Prima, loc cit.*

[6] This plan, reproduced by Vacandard (*op. cit.* 4e édition, I. 421), is that numbered I of three published by Dom Milley,



GROUND-PLAN OF THE ABBEY OF SYLVACANA.

facing p. 114.

floors: on the lower, the ground-floor, were the refectory and the kitchen; on the upper was the dormitory, the two floors communicating by a staircase. To the south-west lay the chapel (*oratorium*), a square structure now, alas! no longer existing, but seen by Méglinger and described by him in the *Iter Cisterciense*. It had two doors, both on the east side, one leading from the staircase of the dormitory and the other from the open air. It was simply furnished with three altars, the major dedicated to our Lady, the minor, on the left between the two doors, to St. Benedict, and the other, in the south-east corner, to St. Laurence.[1] The *lignea tabula*, apparently a dorsal or halpas, described by Méglinger as decorated with paintings of the Crucifix and of St. Mary and St. John in half-figure (*dimidia corpora*), is scarcely contemporary with Bernard; the same may be said of the *effigies* of the two minor altars.[2] Even so, after the lapse of more

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Prior of Mores, in 1708, of which only two sets appear to be known; one is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the other is in the Bibliothèque de la Ville at Troyes.

In Guignard's opinion the *Monasterium Vetus* of this plan was not the original *emplacement* of 1115, which he holds to have been between the Fontaine de S. Bernard and the village of Arconville. His contention is that the site of the *Monasterium Vetus* would not have been open to the objections alleged in the *Vita Prima*, II. v. 29. The removal took place in 1135. Guignard, *Sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux, ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Coll. 1705 sqq. Vacandard, however, regards his opinion as "insoutenable."—Vacandard, *op. cit.* 69, note (1).

[1] "Oratorium . . . quod tale est, ut ipsa paupertas breviori compendio non concinnaret. Frontem altare occupat . . . Extra chorum, seu mediam templi partem in latere dextro est altare S. Laurentii, in sinistro S. Benedicti pariter simplici manu expressis effigiebus nota."—Méglinger, *Iter Cisterc.* 69. Cf. *Vita Prima*, I. xij. 58.

[2] Vacandard, *op. cit.* I. 70, note (1). The *Statuta Gen. Cisterc.* of 1157 (xij) make the concession: "Portas vel ostia ecclesiæ suæ albo colore qui voluerit poterit colorare."—*Ap.*

than 500 years, sufficient of the original simplicity was left to be impressive. The building containing refectory, kitchen and dormitory, communicated, as we have seen, with the chapel. Indeed Méglinger speaks of the whole as under one roof. The floor of the refectory was the bare earth; its windows were few and scarcely more than a hand's breadth wide; the kitchen which adjoined it was of narrow dimensions.[1] In the dormitory, which occupied the entire upper story, each monk had his bed, a rough wooden enclosure on the floor, made of four planks, and about six feet by three feet in area. Méglinger saw some of these beds still remaining and describes them as entered by an opening cut by the axe, giving the impression that, when in use, they had been merely littered with straw or with dry leaves.[2] The staircase

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Martin. et Durand. *Thesaur. Nov. Anecd.* IV. 1247. Just a little whitewash! An earlier concession was made during Bernard's lifetime by the *Statuta* of 1152 (V), namely: "Lampadem tam die quam nocte jugiter ardentem in oratorio habeat, qui voluerit et potuerit."—*Ap. op. cit.* 1245. We read in the *Consuetudines Cisterc.* XX. (*ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 255): "Scripturæ vel pictæ in ecclesiis nostris seu in officinis aliquibus monasterii ne fiant interdicimus, quia dum talibus intenditur utilitas bonæ meditationis vel disciplina religiosæ gravitatis sæpe negligitur." And again (*Ibid.* LXXX. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 272): "Litteræ unius coloris fiant, et non depictæ. Vitreæ albæ fiant, et sine crucibus et picturis."

[1] "Uno tecto templum et habitatio monachorum operitur; una etiam contignatio comedendi et dormiendi loca separat. Infra refectorium nullo lapide stratum nudam terram sanctissimis illis pedibus calcandam præbebat; . . . paucis et palmo non majoribus fenestris illud illuminantibus . . . Adhæret refectorio coquina, et illa quoque arctissima."—Méglinger, *op. cit.* 66.

[2] "Hinc (*sc.* e refectorio) per scalam ascenditur ad dormitorium, idem in longum latumque occupans spatium cum refectorio; in quo adhuc aliquot lectisternia supersunt, ex quatuor asseribus compacta . . . excisum ascia foramen aditum dabat. Exploranti mihi non apparebant vestigia quod altius quam humi

before mentioned, which apparently was the means both of access to the dormitory and of communication between it and the refectory and the chapel, was crowned by a landing upon which were two small cells; one was Bernard's, the other was reserved for any distinguished guest.[1] In the latter St. Malachy of Armagh spent the last three months of his life, and in it he died. Bernard's own cell deserves description in detail. Méglinger took full note of its features. It suggested to him a prison rather than the cabinet of a chief. Not only was it scarcely larger than the monk's cells which he saw in the *Monasterium Novum*, but it was much more uncomfortable. The roof was rough and unceiled, with a window in it—the only one—closed by a plank. The staircase appears to have intruded into the cell, its top step in some way providing the occupant with a sleeping-place! A couple of tree-trunks, smoothed by the axe, pillowed the head. In this cavity lay a precious relic, the iron-studded girdle found upon Bernard's flesh after his death. A hollow seat in the wall, too low to allow of the head being raised when sitting, served as a chair, the throne whence were spoken oracles which healed the world-wounds of the day.[2] And this, it would seem, is all

cubuerint; stramini scilicet, aut aridis arborum foliis . . . injectis . . . utebantur."—Méglinger, *loc. cit.*

[1] "Scalæ, quæ a refectorio ad dormitorium viam facit, imposita est cella, quam mellifluus pater Bernardus incoluit. . . . Juxta hanc sanctissimi patris cellulam alia existit, quam divus Malachias trium mensium habitatione, et sanctissima morte nobilitavit . . . Inde ad oratorium descendimus."—Méglinger, *op. cit.* 67 and 69.

[2] "Carceri, quam conclavi similior . . . cum nudo tantum tecto tegatur, per quod etsi non semper pluviæ penetrent, frigus tamen æstusque et mille aliæ sese intrudunt molestiæ . . . assere, si necessitas imbrium aut nivis jusserit, obstruente foramen . . . scala, cui cella imminet, unum cellæ angulum eripit asseribus, quibus contecta est; qui . . . commodum tamen divo Bernardo

that was left of the *Monasterium Vetus* in the seventeenth century; nor can more of its remains now be traced with any certainty. There was a storehouse, and there was a guesthouse; the former at times all too scantily furnished to supply the needs of the latter.[1] The Abbé Vacandard regards it as probable that the storehouse was near the press (*torcular publicum*) marked 19 in Dom Milley's plan.[2]

If we consider that the thirteen men, the masons and the carpenters of this simple home, were most of them of noble birth; if we take into account the work of clearing the site, of digging the foundations, of making roads, albeit probably but rough tracks, of finding and supplying water, of providing, in fine, all the manifold requirements of a bare subsistence; if we remember the hardness of their life, the few hours of sleep, the scarcity of food, even of the less satisfying kind, which fell to the lot of these, for the most part, delicately nurtured and scholarly labourers; we feel ourselves to be in the presence of a heroism plainly supernatural.[3] It is scarcely probable that they had

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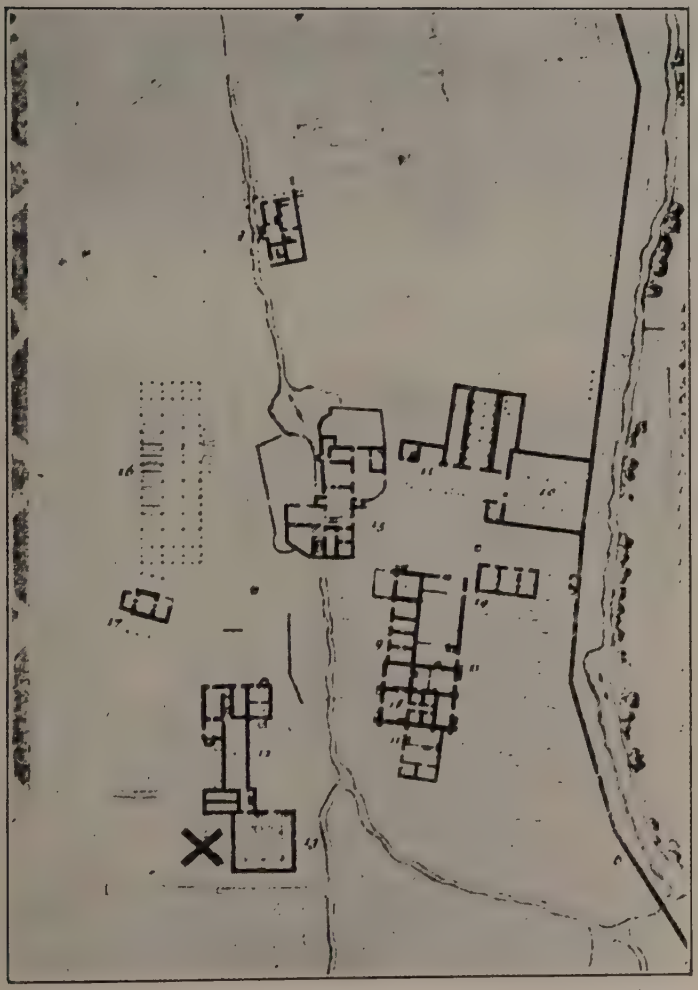
afferebant: illis nempe pro lecto usus: loco pulvinaris duos alios truncos securi lævigatos supponens . . . Nunc cancellis inclusus hic (si tamen sic dici potest) lectus . . . intra quos præterea jacet cingulum setis et ferro asperum, quod . . . super nuda ejus cute post obitum inventum est. Sedile . . . uno tantum a terra pede elevatum, id excavatus per modum sellæ præbuerit murus, etiam sedentis caput erigi non patiebatur incumbentis tecti declivitas. . . . Et hæc est illa sedes, ex qua tot oracula in omnes mundi plagas dimanarunt."—Méglinger, *op. cit.* 67 sq.

[1] "Cum vero ante instantem hiemem Gerardus, frater ejus, cellarius domus, apud eum durius quereretur ad necessaria domus et fratrum multa deesse, nec habere se unde ea coemeret, et urgente necessitate jam nullam verborum reciperet consolationem, . . ." —*Vita Prima*, I. vi. 27. Cf. *ibid.* I. v. 25, quoted *infra*.

[2] Vacandard, *op. cit.* I. 72, note (1).

[3] "Pulmentaria sæpius ex foliis fagi conficiebant. Panis, instar prophetici illius, ex hordeo et milio et vicia erat, ita ut



PLAN OF THE ABBEY OF CLAIRVAUX.

facing p. 118.

as yet the assistance of lay-brothers, a numerous class which in later years was a feature of their Order, and which Bernard names specifically in an epistle dated by Mabillon *circ. an.* 1135. These latter were termed *conversi*, a word originally applied to adult persons who became monks; [1] its use in either sense

aliquando religiosus vir quidam appositum sibi in hospitio, ubertim plorans, clam asportaverit, quasi pro miraculo omnibus ostendendum, quod inde viverent homines, et tales homines."—*Vita Prima*, I. v. 25. A reminiscence of this passage, found under the year MCXV in the *Chronicon Guillelmi de Nangis* (*ap.* Luca d'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, XI. 407), speaking of the bread, says: "magis terreus quam furfureus videbatur"! John the Hermit (*Vita Quarta*, II. 4) evidently identifies the "religiosus vir" with "quidam de Clementini-Prati fratribus." He describes the bread as "conglobatus potius quam confectus," referring to "fagina et cæteri fructus silvestres, et quædam alia, quæ terra sponte procreare solet," as their only other food.—*Ibid.* II. 2.

[1] To the epistle in question (CXLIII) Mabillon appends the note: "Conversi olim dicebantur qui ex adultis conversi ad religionem, quo nomine distinguebantur a pueris oblatis. Hic conversi dicuntur Fratres laici, seu barbati, de quibus supra in epistola 141, num. 1. In Abbatum electione aderant ex epistola 306, num. 2. nimirum ut olim populus cum Clero in electione Episcoporum. Hic ante Novitios nominati, contra in Sermone 22 de diversis. n. 2. in chorum non admissi. Bernardus eos dipinguit a monachis. Tunc enim apud Cistercienses monachi proprie non censebantur, et probat Exordii Cisterciensis cap. 15. tametsi quamdam faciebant professionem." The VIIth canon of the Council of Rheims, held under Eugenius III (1145–1153), speaks of them as "professi," and forbids their marriage in the event of their returning to the world. Mabillon, *loc. cit.* Cf. *Usus. Ord. Cisterc.* IV. cij. In Isidori *De Conversis* the term is equivalent to *monachi* who were not *nutriti*, i.e., brought up from childhood in the monastery. *Vide* Du Cange, *s.v.*

The *Exordium Parvum* (XV) gives the *Instituta monachorum Cisterciensium de Molismo venientium*. These provide for the acceptance of *conversi laici barbati ex licentia episcopi*, on the ground that "sine adminiculo istorum non intelligebant se plenarie sive die sive nocte, præcepta Regulæ posse servare." It may be doubted, however, whether the existence of *conversi* was really in accord with the Cistercian ideal. After Robert left

indicating the mediæval estimate of the religious life.[1]

There can be little doubt but that the severities of Cîteaux were, if anything, surpassed at Clairvaux. Not merely were social and artistic amenities banned, as was the custom with these reformers—even the keeping of animals whose ways were delectable was forbidden [2]—but the community was frequently reduced to great straits in respect of the bare necessaries of life.[3] It is no matter for surprise that some of the

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Cîteaux "les moines avaient sous son successeur accompli de grands travaux autour de leurs habitations primitives, mais l'austérité de leur vie et la solitude de leur retraite avaient éloigné d'eux la noblesse qui, sous l'abbé Robert, était reçue avec un certain éclat à Molême."—Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne*, I. 305 sq. Cf. p. 80, *supra*. It should be noted that there were *fratres laici* quite distinct from the *conversi*. *Vide* Mabillon. *Præfat. in S. Bern. Tom. III.* ix ("Fratres autem laicos penitus illiteratos, et linguæ Latinæ ignaros fuisse, multa demonstrant. Erant isti fratres choro sociati, sed tonsurae clericalis expertes, a conversis omnino distincti."), and the evidence there quoted; also *Vita Prima*, VII. xxiii. 39 (*ex Exord. Magn.*): "Monachus laicus, non littera doctus, sed spiritu." Cf. *Vita Quarta* (*Ep. Joh. Erem. ad Petr. Tusc.*), 2; and the old French MS., *Codex Fuliensis*, from the Paris Abbey of Le Val (*Gall. Christ.* VII. 875 sqq.), to which Mabillon refers (*ut supr.* viii. sqq.).

[1] Cf. G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, I. App. 3 and 10.

[2] "Certum est nos . . . debere . . . non levitatibus aut jocis vacare, et ob hoc horum fomenta vitiorum a sanctis locis elongari oportet, scilicet cervos et ursos ac grumes, caeteraque talia levitatum irritamenta."—*Consuetud. Cisterc.* XXII. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 255 sq.

[3] We have already referred to John the Hermit's story of the monk of Clémentinpré. This visitor to Clairvaux, "novellam Christi plantationem, honorifice susceptus est, prout fieri potuit: cui, qui in promptu erat, oblatus est dimidius panis avenaceus. Quo suscepto . . . reportato ad Clementinum-Pratum," the result was the generous relief of Clairvaux by Odo, the venerable prior of that house.—*Vita Quarta*, II. 4.

monks looked back even to Cîteaux as to the fleshpots of Egypt; their return whither was alone prevented by the divine response to the prayer of Bernard, material assistance at once arriving from more quarters than one.[1] In the great famine which, in the year 1125–1126, afflicted both a wide area of Gaul and much of the surrounding country, despite signal marks of the providence of God, the monks of Clairvaux, beggaring themselves by their generosity, did not fail to suffer.[2] In all these privations Bernard was the last to spare himself. His standard was high, and he himself led the way towards its attainment. The *Consuetudines* forbade prostration of the body at prayer; [3] Bernard never prayed except standing.[4] Work, whether it was the *Opus Dei* itself, or labour of the brain or of the hand, was for him an enthusiasm which seasoned coarse fare and softened a hard bed.[5] And there was,

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[1] "Coacti vero fame, frigore et aliis indigentiis, abbati suo conquesti sunt, quod pro nimia paupertate discedere cogerentur . . . Abbas, blande ac leniter consolans eos, Dei timorem et amorem . . . insinuavit. Illi vero . . . nullatenus volebant consentire, sed magis volebant Cistercium reverti. Cumque vir Dei desperationem illorum vidisset, demum convertit se ad orationem." —*Vita Quarta*, II. 5.

[2] "Circa hoc tempus in regno Galliæ et finitimis regionibus fames invaluit: servorum autem suorum horrea Domini benedictio cumulavit. Siquidem usque ad annum illum nunquam eis laboris sui annona suffecerat. Sed et tunc quoque post messem collectam, diligenter omnibus supputatis, vix usque ad Pascha sibi eam posse sufficere æstimabant. Cum autem emere vellent, sumptus non invenerunt, quod longe carius solito venderetur . . . ex modica illa annona . . . qui superveniebant pauperes, alacriter susténtabantur."—*Vita Prima*, I. x. 49.

[3] *Consuetud. Cisterc.* LXXXIV. *ap.* Guignard, *op. cit.* 273.

[4] "Orabat stans die noctuque, donec genua ejus infirmata a jejunio, et pedes ejus a labore inflati, corpus sustinere non possent." —*Vita Prima*, I. viij. 39.

[5] "Denique, si totum de nocte, quod Regula præcipit, bene ad psalmos invigilaveris, nimis durus erit lectus, in quo quiete non

in his view, no digestive so potent as tears shed for the sins of men. Fastredus, the third Abbot of Clairvaux, tells us of Bernard's reply to one who, with the kindest of motives, reproved him for the chosen coarseness of his fare: "My son, if you rightly understood the obligation of the monk, every morsel you ate would be moistened with your tears. You came here to the end that you might lament your own sins and those of the world. When we eat the bread which men have got for us by their labour, we make their sins to be ours, that thus we may bewail them as our own." [1] How many a dyspeptic would be cured by such a prescription! "Think less of your stomach and more of your sins." And yet Bernard, by his austerities, made a sacrifice which cost a high price; who shall say that it was too high? But the time soon came when the authority of the Order intervened to forbid further demands upon his feeble constitution. He had gradually sunk so low that at best his restoration to anything like moderate health seemed doubtful,[2] when he

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dormias. Si tantum in die, quantum professus es, manibus laboraveris, durus erit cibus, quem libenter non comedas."—S. Bern. *Epist.* I. 12. Such *durities* is typical of the Cistercian spirit. For example, Milo of Montbard appears to have deliberately elected to be professed as a *conversus*. As we have seen, the *Prima Magna Charta Fontenetensis*, I. associates him with his brother Gaudry, Seigneur de Touillon, and Martin the Hermit as a *primus ædificator* of that abbey, while still a *conversus*. "Milonem qui humilitatis affectu, primo suo in Ordinem ingressu, inter conversos profiteri voluit."—Chifflet, *op. cit.* 645. Cf. p. 60, note 4, *supra*.

[1] Fastred. *Epist. ad Quemdam Ord. Sui Abbat.* 4, *ap.* Migne, CLXXXII. Col. 706.

[2] "Jam nonnisi mors ejus, aut omni morte gravior vita speraretur."—*Vita Prima*, I. vij. 32. It was probably from this date that Bernard suffered from a disorder of the stomach, which appears to have become chronic. "Nam cum crebra illa ex corruptione stomachi per os ejus indigestæ cruditatis eruptio

received a visit from William of Champeaux,[1] who at once realised the gravity of his state and took suitable action. He went in person to the General Chapter of the Order, and from it obtained plenary power to direct Bernard's life for a year.[2] It was a wise concession, for he was quite unable to direct it himself.[3] Returning to Clairvaux William arranged for the patient to be removed to a little dwelling outside the cloister, and so far from the boundaries of the monastery as that he was protected from all disturbance. He was dispensed entirely both from the Rule and

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aliis inciperet esse molestior, maxime autem in choro psallentium, non tamen illico collectas fratrum deseruit; sed juxta locum stationis suæ procurato ac effosso in terra receptaculo . . . necessitatem illam transegit."—*Vita Prima*, I. viii. 39. In later years this condition became so acute that "seorsum secum habitare compulsus est, nisi quantum . . . necessitate, conventui eum fratrum aliquando oportebat interesse." Even so his energy was an astonishment to the physicians. *Vita Prima, loc. cit.*

[1] William of Champeaux, "Ecclesiæ Parisiensis creatus est archidiaconus, in hujusce cathedralis scholis dialecticæ edocendæ præpositus est, multosque habuit auditores, quorum e numero in ore fuit omnium famosus ille Abaëlardus, qui non solum condiscipulorum suorum æmulationem et invidiam, sed et magistri sui indignationem in se concitavit. Guillelmus tamen melioris vitæ cupidus ad Cellam-veterem in suburbium Parisiorum, ubi erat ædicula quædum sancti Victoris, cum discipulis aliquot migravit anno 1108; habituque ordinis canonici assumto celeberrimam S. Victoris Parisiensis abbatiam fundavit." He became Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne in 1113. *Gall. Christ.* IX. 877. "Obiisse dicitur anno 1121. 8 cal. Februarii, ut legitur in chronico Morigniacensi, sepultus apud Claramvallem, forte assumto in extremis monastico habitu."—Martin. et Durand. *Script. et Monument. Ampl. Coll.* IX. 1023 sq. note (b).

[2] "Profectus Episcopus ad capitulum Cisterciense, ibi . . . petiit et obtinuit ut tantum anno uno in obedientiam sibi traderetur."—*Vita Prima*, I. vij. 32.

[3] "Utinam se circa semetipsum talem exhibuisset qualem erga cæteros tam benignum, tam discretum, tam sollicitum!"—*Vita Prima*, I. viij. 38.

from the government of the abbey.[1] The *cellula* prepared for the shelter of the invalid was no luxury. William of St. Thierry, who visited Bernard in his sickness, describes it as a mere hovel, such as was provided for lepers at the cross-roads.[2] Méglinger, who was at Clairvaux five hundred and fifty years later, when it was still *in situ*, speaks of a wooden hut for the accommodation of cattle in the open fields; near by were the tombs of Bernard's father and of his two brothers, Bartholomew and Gerard.[3] This exile of Bernard during the year 1118–1119 furnished one of the recorded occasions upon which the humour of the Saint flashed forth. William of Champeaux did his best, we may be sure, in the selection of a physician, but this detached, self-mortified patient, who did not know what he was eating at table,[4] knew a fool when

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[1] "Circa eum nullam ibi teneri Ordinis districtionem; nullam de tota cura domus ad eum referri sollicitudinem."—*Vita Prima*, I. vij. 32.

[2] "'Inveni eum in suo illo tugurio, quale leprosis in compitis publicis fieri solet."—*Vita Prima*, I. vij. 33.

[3] "Inde (*sc.* a mausolæo) per aliquot iterum passus visitur casa lignea, instar tugurii cujusdam, qualia in campis pro armentis excitare solent. In hanc intromissi, postquam intelleximus celebri illa per morbum divi Bernardi habitatione nobilem, pio stupore correpti sumus, quod hæc lignorum strues in tot sæcula duraret; annis nimirum quingentis quinquaginta."—Meglinger. *Iter Cisterc.* 61. The date of this *Descriptio Itin. Cisterc.* is May, 1667. The writers of the *Voyage Littéraire de deux religieux Bénédictins* describe this *cellula* as behind the cemetery in which were buried the "abbés étrangers, qui sont morts à Clairvaux, dans lequel on voit contre l'église les sépulcres des frères de saint Bernard." They noted the lack of fireplace, "car saint Bernard . . . ne voulait pas qu'on lui fit du feu." His friends, however, arranged a large stone pierced with holes, "sous laquelle on allumait un brasier pour échauffer sa chambre, sans qu'il s'en apperçût."—*Op. cit.* I. 99 sq.

[4] "Sensu ipso corrupto, et pene emortuo sapore, vix aliquid discernebat. Nam et sagimen crudum per errorem sibi oblatum

THE ABBEY OF CLAIRVAUX.

facing p. 124.

he saw him. During the course of his illness Bernard, as we have seen,[1] enjoyed from time to time the company of William of St. Thierry. Upon one occasion of inquiry as to his state of health and his general comfort, William found the Saint in joyful mood. "I fare most finely. The fact is that I, who have hitherto been wont to be obeyed by reasonable human creatures, have, by the just judgement of God, been handed over to submit myself obediently to an irrational brute-beast." There was no malice or bitterness in the tone of the remark; the physician was an ill-mannered boor, proud of having been chosen as the custodian of so valuable a life; the humour of the situation struck Bernard, and probably contributed favourably to his recovery.[2] Bernard could laugh, but he laughed kindly (*arridens*), and he laughed like a gentleman (*modo illo suo generoso*).

This rest cure followed almost immediately upon the foundation, in 1118, of Troisfontaines; indeed, it may in a measure have been necessitated by the labours entailed thereby. Troisfontaines was the eldest daughter of Clairvaux; William of St. Thierry learned the story of its foundation from Guy, Bernard's eldest brother. He speaks of William of Champeaux

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pro butyro multis diebus noscitur comedisse."—*Vita Prima*, I. vij. 33. With Vacandard (*op. cit.* I. 78, note (1)) and Hüffer (*Bernard von Clairvaux*, I. 129, note 3) we read "sagimen" for the "sanguinem" of Mabillon and Migne. *Sagimen* is "pinguedo quæ expellitur ex carne in frixorio per ignem."—Ad Ioan. de Garlandia in *Syn. ap.* Du Cange, *s.v.*

[1] P. 124, *supra.*

[2] "Modo illo suo generoso arridens nobis: 'Optime,' inquit, 'Ego cui hactenus homines rationabiles obediebant, justo Dei judicio irrationabili cuidam bestiæ datus sum ad obediendum' Dicebat autem de quodam homine rusticano et vano, nihil prorsus sciente, ipsumque ab infirmitate qua laborabat, curaturum se jactitante."—*Vita Prima*, I. vij. 33.

as having invited the foundation, and of Roger as the first abbot.[1] The writers of the *Voyage Littéraire*,[2] the distinguished Benedictines, Edmond Martène and Orsin Durand, describe the place as two leagues from St. Didier, and refer to the fact that it was previously a house of Canons Regular of the Abbey of St. Corneil-de-Compiègne, whom William of Champeaux persuaded to retire in favour of Clairvaux. This evacuation of the site appears to have been arranged so early as 1116, for a *charta* of that date *ex tabulario Trium-fontium*, which specifies a certain portion of the Forest of Luis as to be transferred from these Canons to William, Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, is quoted in *Gallia Christiana* as granted by Hugh, Count of Vitry, for the express purpose of a foundation from Clairvaux; with Hugh the inhabitants of the place were associated as donors.[3] And there were others

[1] "Petente et agente domino Guillelmo episcopo, in episcopatu Catalaunensi eam, quæ Trium-Fontium dicitur, construxerunt. Ad quam cum abbatem cum monachis emisissent dominum Rogerium, virum nobilem secundum sæculum, . . . paterna sollicitudine et pia affectione cum eis erat."—*Vita Prima*, I. xiii. 64. Mabillon and Migne append the note: "*Troisfontaines*, in ducatu Barrensi, fundata an. 1118." For Roger see *Vita Prima*, I. xiij. 65: "Abbas autem Rogerius, et aliqui qui cum eo erant, ipsi fuerunt quos vir Dei aliquando de Catalaunensi traxerat civitate."—In *Gall. Christ.* IX. 957 we read of him that "eo mortuo an. 1127, scripsit sanctissimus Clarævallis abbas epistolam consolatoriam ad monachos, quæ est num. 71." This little letter is a perfect gem.

[2] *Voyage Littéraire de deux religieux Bénédictins*, II. 91 sq. This book was published in Paris in 1717. The *approbation*, signed by De Vertot, bears the date of June 15th, 1715, and refers to "les autres Ouvrages de l'Auteur," probably referring to Martène. In the preface to the book the authors speak of their *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, thus sufficiently revealing themselves.

[3] "Notum sit omnibus quod illam divisionem silvæ quæ dicitur *Luiz*, quam fieri jussi . . . Alardo sacerdoti ceterisque confratribus . . . in manibus Guillermi Cathalaunensis ecclesiæ

whose beneficence contributed at the time, or at a very early stage, to the success of this first-born of Clairvaux; such, for example, were Ado, Abbot of St. Oyan, Benedict, Abbot of St. Pierre-de-Châlons, and no less a person than Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny.[1] Considering Bernard's illness we shall be prepared for matters making slow progress, and the monks were not sent from Clairvaux until 1118,[2] when the land was at once handed over by Hugh of Vitry and the Canons Regular.[3] Apparently it was on October 10th in that year that Roger and his twelve brethren formally took possession of Troisfontaines.[4]

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episcopi dereliqui . . . Hæc omnia habitatores loci illius per manum Guillermi episcopi Cathalaunensis dederunt Bernardo Clarævallis abbati, concedente Hugone comite, ad abbatiam construendam; quod et factum est. Actum Vitreio anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCXVI. sub rege Ludovico."—*Gall. Christ.* X. *Instrumenta* (*Eccles. Catalaun.*), 161 sq.

[1] "Fundatores agnoscit abbatia Trium-fontium, 1° incolas loci, teste Hugone comite Vitreiensi, 2° ipsum Hugonem comitem, 3° Petrum Venerabilem, Cluniaci, 4° Adonem, S. Eugendi, 5° Benedictum, S. Petri Catalaunensis abbates, 6° denique canonicos ecclesiæ Compendiensis."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 956. The charters of these donors, with the exception of 2° (1116) and 5° (1117), are of later date than the actual foundation in 1118; they were confirmed by a charter of Geoffrey, Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, in 1136.—*Gall. Christ.* X. *Instr.* (*Eccles. Catalaun.*), 168 sq. Peter the Venerable appears to have been a benefactor of Troisfontaines so late as 1150. Martène and Durand (*Thesaur. Anecd.* I. 407 sq.) give a letter of his under this date, addressed to Abbot Hugh, granting Cluniac land to the abbey on the request of Bernard.

[2] "Monachos illuc transmisisse non creditur S. Bernardus ante annum 1118."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 956 sq.

[3] "Adventatis autem monachis largitus est idem Hugo comes *terram inter duos rivos. Guido quoque abbas et canonici S. Crucis dederunt . . . portionem terræ suæ in territorio* Betuncourt, *a terra comitis Theobaldi usque ad fontem qui est in prædictæ villæ territorio*, ex chartis ejusdem monasterii."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 957.

[4] "*Diem ingressus* cœnobitarum unus Beaunierius adfert

Bernard's enforced rest had scarcely come to an end when the second daughter-house was founded on October 29th in the year 1119.[1] William of Champeaux's grant of authority over the person of the Saint was but for a short year; and it was with renewed vigour that Bernard turned again to work, and that without delay, possessed, it would seem, by the sense of time lost and of the obligation of recovering it.[2] Fontenay lay in a wooded valley surrounded by mountains, half a league from Montbard, a locality then in the diocese of Autun, now in that of Dijon. In the deep recesses of this valley a hermit, by name Martin, had established his retreat.[3] The accepted founder of Fontenay was Bernard's uncle, Raynard, Seigneur de Montbard,[4] although others are mentioned as contributing their parts,[5] notably Martin the Hermit

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X Oct., quem utique non indubium testem ideo sequimur, quod in chronologia Parisina Saviniacum *ad XVII Sept.* 1118 relatum Tribus-Fontibus præponitur."—Janauschek, *Originum Cisterc.* I. 6.

[1] "Monachos *Claravallenses* IV Cal. Nov. 1119 institutos esse chronologiæ constanter testantur."—Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 8.

[2] "Continuo, cum ab annuæ illius obedientiæ vinculo solutus, et sui juris effectus est, velut arcus distentus ad pristinum rigorem, et sicut torrens detentus et dimissus, ad prioris cursus consuetudinem reversus est, quasi repetens a semetipso pœnas diutinæ (*al.* diusculæ) illius quietis, et damna laboris intermissi."—*Vita Prima*, I. viii. 38.

[3] "L'abbaye de Fontenet n'est éloignée de là (Oigny) que de six lieues, elle est située dans une vallée environnée de montagnes et de bois, à une demie lieue de Montbard . . . Les premiers religieux s'établirent d'abord dans le fond de la vallée, dans un petit hermitage qui était fondé par un solitaire nommé Martin, qui le céda à saint Bernard."—*Voyage Littéraire*, I. 149 sq. "In loco a Martino eremita inculto."—Janauschek, *op. cit.* I. 8.

[4] "Rainardus Montis-Barri dominus, Bernardi avunculus, et Alaysiæ germanus fuit."—Mabillon. *Admon. in Libr. de Vita S. Bern.* VIII.

[5] "Filia secunda Claræ-Vallis, conditur an. 1118 (*marg.*

and Raynard's brothers, Gaudry and Milo, both monks of Clairvaux, the latter still a *conversus*.[1] Stephen de Baugé (*Balgiacum*), Bishop of Autun, and his Chapter, as well as the monks of Molesme, also seem to have lent their aid.[2] The first Abbot of Fontenay was Godfrey de la Roche, Bernard's kinsman and disciple, afterwards third prior of Clairvaux,[3] and later Bishop of Langres, the dignity of which he laid aside in 1161, after twenty-five years' service to the diocese, that he might return to Clairvaux, where he died and was buried.[4] Godfrey would have lived long enough

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1119. *ex. chr. Cisterc. apud Miræum, pag.* 36) a Rainardo Montisbarri domino, S. Bernardi avunculo, eo in loco, quem prius incolebat Martinus eremita, haud procul a Monte-barro oppido, favente dicto Martino, qui locum ipsum sancto Bernardo petenti ultro concessit, annuente Stephano episcopo Eduensi et suæ ecclesiæ capitulo, necnon G. Molismensi abbate."—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 492.

[1] Raynard's gift was made " necnon et propter amorem domni Bernardi abbatis Claræ vallis, nepotis sui, et fratrum suorum Waldrici monachi, et Milonis conversi, qui ejusdem abbatiæ cum domno Martino Eremita primi ædificatores fuerunt."—*Ex prima magna charta Fontenetensi, num.* 1. *ap.* Chifflet. *De Illustr. Gen. S. Bern.* 540. Cf. *ibid.* 645.

[2] " *Stephano de Baugé*, episcopo Æduensi, atque cœnobio Molismensi certe jam a. 1118 adjuvantibus."—Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 8. " Inter excerpta e prima charta Fontanetensi id lego : *Ego Stephanus Eduensis episcopus et nostræ ecclesiæ conventus, domno Bernardo abbati de Claris-Vallibus locum quem vulgo Fontanetum appellant, in abbatiam construendam dedimus.*" —*Gall. Christ.* IV. 391. In 1136 a *charta* of Stephen de Baugé confirmed to William, the second abbot, and to his successors not only all the present possessions of Fontenay, but also " quæ in futurum poterit adipisci."—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 391 and 492.

[3] *Vita Prima*, II. v. 29 ; IV. j. 4.

[4] " Godefridus S. Bernardi consanguineus ac discipulus, primus fuit abbas Fontaneti, deinde ad suum prius monasterium Claramvallem rediit, ubi fuit tertius prior, hinc postmodum ad episcopatum Lingonensem assumtus. Tum vero ea dignitate abjecta, e vivis excessit in Claravalle, ubi conditus est cum hoc

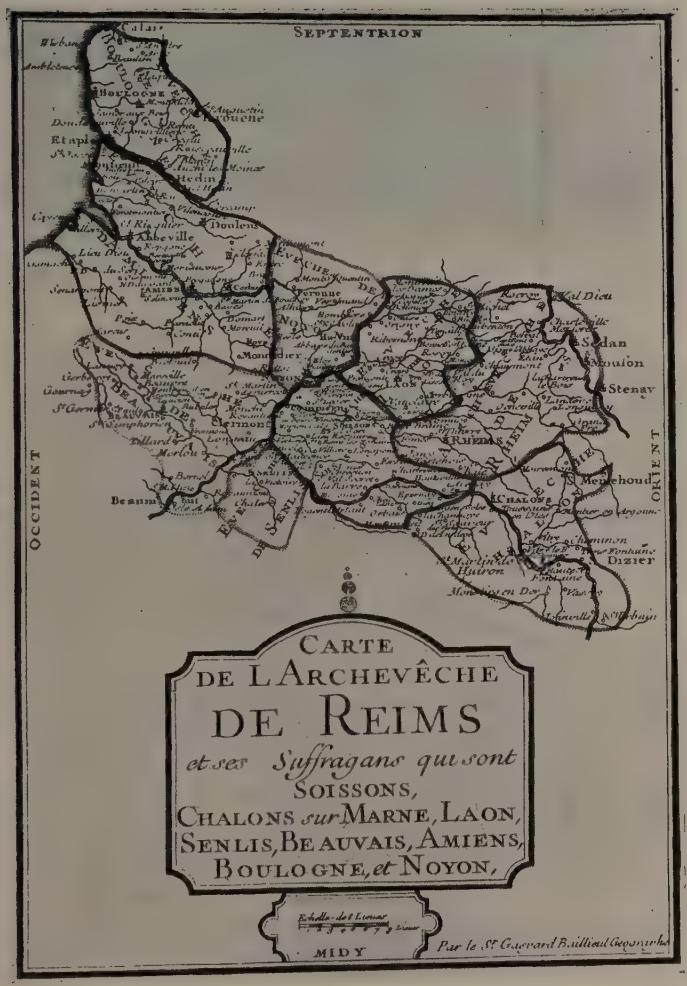
to see that great day at Fontenay when, in 1147, Eugenius III, in the presence of ten cardinals, eight bishops and a considerable concourse of abbots, including Bernard himself, consecrated the abbey-church built by Everard, Bishop of Norwich, whose tomb may still be seen before the high altar.[1]

The extension of the Cistercian Order from Clairvaux as a mother-house was, indeed, vigorous. The year 1121 was marked by the foundation of Foigny, an outpost, as it were, in the diocese of Laon, now that of Soissons. The Bishop of Laon, Bartholomew de Vir, desirous of promoting the Cistercian reform in his diocese, invited Bernard to send monks to settle there. In the first instance Bartholomew offered as a site Prémontré, where only lately, in 1119 or 1120, St. Norbert had founded a house on land granted to the bishop by the monks of St. Vincent-de-Laon.[2] The offer was, however, not accepted. Certainly the locality was unfavourable; it appears to have been

epitaphio: *Hic jacet Dom. Godefridus tertius prior Clarævallis, primus abbas Fontaneti, dein episc. Lingon. Obiit an. MCLXV.*"—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 492. "Anno Domini 1161, episcopus Lingonensis Godefridus, quondam prior Clarævallis episcopatum dimisit, et Claramvallem est reversus, ad amplexus suæ Rachelis."—*Chron. Clarevall. ap.* Migne, CLXXXV. Col. 1247.

[1] "Illic amplissimum templum extruxit Ebrardus Norvicensis episcopus, cujus tumulus ante principem aram conspicitur; illudque cum altari præcipuo consecravit Eugenius papa III. an. 1147 (non autem 1141 in festo S. Matthæi, ut habent Sammarthani) adstantibus sibi cardinalibus decem, episcopis octo, et S. Bernardo cum abbatum frequenti caterva."—*Gall. Christ.* IV. 492. Cf. *Voyage Littéraire de deux religieux Bénédictins*, I. 150.

[2] Prémontré (*Præmonstratum*) was three leagues from Laon. It became the mother-house of the Premonstratensians, or Norbertines, an order of Canons Regular. Beaunier, *Recueil des Abbayes de France*, II. 603. It is interesting to note that St. Norbert, like Bernard of Clairvaux, was a monastic reformer. The Norbertines were in England commonly called the White Canons.



MAP OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL PROVINCE OF REIMS.

facing p. 130.

difficult of access by reason of the floods.[1] A few years earlier Bernard might not have hesitated—Cîteaux was a marshy land—but he had, realising perhaps that other claims were increasingly predominant, come to grudge time spent upon drainage and upon road-making; the expansion from Clairvaux would involve considerable intercourse between the mother and her daughters; distinguished ecclesiastics and great statesmen might, from time to time, quite reasonably engage the attention and seek the hospitality of the abbots; the inaccessibility of the desert, as a feature of the Order, was beginning to give way to the demands of Bernard's already developing mission to the greater part of Western Europe; much service might be demanded of the monks by the world outside; and, although the characteristic Cistercian spirit still forbade time to be spent upon work which was strictly artistic, such was Bernard's epistolary and literary output that much time must have been given to the work of the scribe. But Bartholomew de Vir was not long in finding another site.[2] About two leagues from Vervins, then a little town of Picardy, and in one of the valleys of a district which went by the name of Thierache, lay a place called Foigny close

[1] Beaunier (*loc. cit.*) describes it as "de très-difficile accès, à cause des mauvais chemins entre les étangs." It was probably no better served in the twelfth century than in the eighteenth.

[2] "Bartholomæus Laudunensis episcopus, quum a S. Bernardo monachos petisset, per quos Cisterciensis reformatio et novum vitæ genus propagaretur in sua diœcesi, sanctissimusque abbas Præmonstratum quod sibi oblatum fuerat, recusasset, Fusniacum a monachis S. Michaëlis impetratum obtulit, quod ille grato animo acceptavit."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 628. It is noteworthy that, in several instances, it seems as though existing religious bodies were called upon by their diocesans to surrender property in favour of Bernard's foundations; Foigny is a case in point.

to the river Aube, surrounded by thick forests and savage mountains; this *allodium Fusniacum* was granted to Bartholomew by the abbot and monks of St. Michel-en-Thierache[1] and by him handed over to Bernard for the new foundation.[2] The Bishop of Laon was generous; it was at his charges that the monastery was built; and his influence, doubtless, enlisted the generous support of the King, Louis VI, and the latter's confirmation of the Cistercians in their possessions.[3] On July 11th an abbot and twelve monks arrived at Foigny.[4] The man whom Bernard chose to preside was specially endeared to him; he

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[1] Mabillon. *n. in S. Bern. Epist.* LXXII.

[2] "Erat locus in valle Teoraciæ positus super rivum Albam, juxta opaca silvarum, vicinorum hinc inde montium angustias, secundo lapide ab oppido Vervino."—*Gall. Christ. loc. cit.* "Foigny, ou Fugny, ou Foiny, (mal-nommée Faucigny, dans le Poüillé de *France* de l'édition de 1671) en Latin, *de Fustiniaco, aut Fusncio, vel Fusniacum*, Fille de l'Abbaye de *Clairvaux* située en *Picardie*, dans la *Thierache*, sur la rivière d'*Aube*, à deux lieuës de *Vervins*, dans une vallée entourée de bois du côté de l'Orient. Cette Abbaye fut fondée par *Barthélemy*, Evêque de *Laon*, qui l'a donna à Saint *Bernard* l'an 1121."—Beaunier, *op. cit.* II. 601 sq. "Abbatiam illam *Bartholomæus de Vir . . . in allodio Fusniaco* . . . ad Albam fluviolum et secundum a Vervino lapidem in Picardia propriaque diœcesi . . . fundavit."—Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 10.

[3] "Bartholomæus monasterium suis sumtibus extruxit; rex vero Ludovicus VI fundationem diplomate statim confirmavit. Nec multo post illam religiosissimus præsul amplioribus beneficiis cumulavit, adjecto allodio Stephani *d'Aubenton*, et aliis donis."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 628. Of Aubenton we read in the *Analyse du Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Foigny* (Comte E. de Barthélemy, XVI. 10): "Barthélemi, évêque de Laon, rend à l'abbaye l'aleu de Saint-Étienne, de Fesmy, contigu à l'abbaye et à laquelle il était nécessaire, après que l'abbé Robert de Fesmy l'eût remis entre les mains dudit évêque. An. 1121."

[4] "Illuc S. Bernardus monachos duodecim misit cum abbate; quibus in possessione collocatis, V id. Jul. an. 1121. . . ."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 628.

had been professed at an early age; his character had been in large measure formed by Bernard's influence; amongst the extant letters of the Saint are four addressed to Raynald, the tone of two of which is peculiarly intimate.[1] He shrinks from the language of ceremony, as addressed to him by Raynald. "To begin with, do not be surprised that I am terrified by the high respect of your manner of address, when I feel myself so unworthy of it. It may be becoming in you, but really I cannot accept it."[2] He cheers Raynald in dejection by a playful allusion to his love of Ovid, *tuum Ovidium*, and quotes from the poet a line suitable to his case.[3] These Cistercians were no dullards! The beginnings of the new house were modest, and it was some time before the monks were provided with other sleeping-place than the refectory; the humble oratory, built with their own hands, was in marked contrast with the splendid church consecrated six years later.[4] This latter, which was three years

[1] *Epist.* LXXII, LXXIII, LXXIV, CCCCXIII.

[2] "Primo ne mireris, si terrear dignitatis nominibus, cum me ipsis rebus sentiam indignum. Et te quidem decet ut facis, sed mihi assentire non expedit."—S. Bern. *Epist. LXXII. ad init.*

[3] "*Quando ego non timeo graviora pericula veris?*"—Ovid. *Epist.* I. *ap.* S. Bern. *Epist.* LXXIV.

The *Abbatum Series* of the *Historia* of Foigny, written in 1670 by Johannes de Lanci, prior of the abbey, is given in *Gallia Christiana* (IX. 629 sq.). In it Raynald is described as "a teneris monasticæ disciplinæ traditus"—possibly he had been an oblate; as "S. Bernardi Clarevallensis discipulus, ipsique singularis amoris prærogativa ob animi dotes conjunctus . . . cujus exemplo informatus ad vitæ integritatem religionisque zelum, ab eodem visitatur in consecratione majoris ecclesiæ . . . defunctus est V cal. Maii." The year of his death would have been 1131, when he was succeeded, Lanci tells us, by Goswin I.

[4] "Humilem domum pro dormitorio simul ac refectorio habitabant Fusniacenses: huic adjunxerant manibus suis ædiculam sub nomine B. Virginis Mariæ, donec augustius templum erigere possent."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 629.

a-building, they owed to the munificence of Bartholomew. It was of vast dimensions, sufficient, we read, to hold nearly all the members of the Order; its length was 400 feet, its breadth 82 feet; the great roof was supported by 44 columns.[1] It was consecrated on November 11th, 1124.[2]

Bernard appears to have regarded Foigny as a position of great strategical importance to the extension of the Order, and it certainly proved itself to be a centre of attraction to the *Cisterciense Institutum*. He frequently visited it both for the sake of its abbot and of its monks, and as a convenient headquarters from which to direct the establishment of new monasteries in the neighbouring districts of Belgium.[3] Thither came, and there entered into the novitiate, not only the founder, Bartholomew de Vir, but Alexander, King of Scotland; there also they both died in the habit of the Order; indeed, this king is stated to have been a humble *conversus* to the end of his life. Other

[1] "Illud porro ingentis molis intra triennium munificentia Bartholomæi episcopi absolverunt, longitudine 400 pedum, latitudine 82 extensum; 44 columnis majoribus, totidemque minoribus sustentatum; ut totius ordinis pene maximum habeatur."—*Gall. Christ. loc. cit.* The *pes* of measurement was probably the *pied de roi*, or Paris foot, which has been estimated to equal 12·78912 English inches. The extreme length of Canterbury Cathedral is 514 English feet; that of Westminster Abbey is 360 English feet.

[2] "Dedicata III id. Nov. anno 1124 basilica; confirmata etiam an. 1147 villa Sparsiaci quam Ivo abbas S. Martini Tornacensis contulerat."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 628 sq. The village of Éparcy had been granted by Ivo in 1130. "XXXVII. Ivo, abbé de Saint-Martin-de-Tournay, déclare remettre à l'abbaye de Foigny ladite donation, telle que son monastère l'a reçue par la main de Barthélemy, évêque de Laon."—E. de Barthélemy, *Analyse du Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Foigny*, 14.

[3] "S. Bernardus eos præ ceteris in deliciis habebat, qui dum ædificandis per Belgium inferius monasteriis incumberet, Fusniaci sæpius commorabatur. Ostendere amabant Fusiacenses cubiculum ejus."—*Gall. Christ. loc. cit.*

less distinguished persons too were drawn thither by the influence which radiated from the place.[1]

It was a little earlier than this, when so much of his work was meeting with a success which was far from superficial, that Bernard experienced one of the most distressing trials of his life; *his plagatus sum in domo eorum qui diligebant me*. Robert of Châtillon was the son of Otho of Châtillon and Diana (?), the younger daughter of Bernard of Montbard; he was, therefore, Bernard's first cousin, although, owing to the disparity of their ages, he was frequently spoken of as his nephew.[2] In his early years his parents had either formally *oblated* him, or at least devoted him to the religious life at Cluny. It may be well to give some account of the custom of *oblation*.

It is contemplated by the LIXth chapter of the Rule, which lays down in detail the conditions under which it is to be effected. The oblating parents may

[1] Of Bartholomew we are told that "et ipse relictis infulis monachum professus, reliquum vitæ spatium ibidem transigere voluit ad mortem usque, sepulturam nactus inter filios ac fratres suos, beatorumque ordinis catalogo adscriptus ad VI id. Julii."—*Gall. Christ. loc. cit.* "Anno demum 1150 . . . monachum professus est, teste Roberto de Monte ad hunc annum . . . quod tamen Nangiacus refert ad annum 1151. . . . Quo anno obierit incompertum. Vivebat adhuc anno 1157, quo scripsit ad Sansonem Remensem."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 531. "Alexander imprimis, Scotiæ princeps . . . habitum conversorum ibidem humiliter induit, egregiisque miraculis tam vivus quam mortuus claruisse traditur."—*Gall. Christ.* IX. 629. "Ibidem (*sc.* Fusniaci) fundator, 'contemto vitæ schemate' monachus factus et *Alexander*, Scotorum rex, habitu conversorum indutus, obierunt."—Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 10.

[2] "Bernardi consobrinus, nepos dictus ob minorem ætatem."—Mabillon. *Annal. Bened.* V. Lib. LXXII (xcviij). an. 1115. 605. Cf. Chifflet, *De Illustr. Gen. S. Bern.* 643. It was, as we have noticed (p. 30, *supra*), from Robert that John the Hermit derived valuable information, chiefly concerning the family of Bernard, given in the *Vita Quarta*, e.g. in I. 5 and 6. For Diana, see p. 46, *supra*.

be *nobiles*, or they may be *pauperes*; in either case the oblate must be *minori ætate*; this last term was usually, but not invariably, taken as under the age of fourteen.[1] There are instances of the oblation, both of boys and of girls, in Benedictine houses at much younger years;[2] but it is plain that the danger involved in thus irrevocably committing to the religious life children of tender years, as well as other dangers essential to the system, came to be fully recognized. Thus we find that, at the very time when the enthusiasm of the Cistercian reform might have been expected to have needed such protection, two successive Popes, Clement III (1187–1191) and Celestine III (1191–1198), granted general licence to oblates to return, if they so desired, to the world.[3] But there is evidence that

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[1] "Id est, si est minor quatuordecim annis."—Richardus de S. Angelo, *ap.* Martène, *Regula Comment.* LIX. *ap.* Migne, LXVI. Col. 840. Ivo of Chartres (*in part.* VII. *Decreti*, 27) quotes the *Concil. Toletanum*, X. Canon 16, as prescribing the age for boys as twelve; as to which Martène remarks: "in editione vero Conciliorum legitur *decimum*." The *Regula S. Aureliani* (17) lays down: "minori ætate in monasterio non excipiantur, nisi ab annis decem, aut duodecim, qui et enutriri non egeant, et cavere noverint culpas." *Enutriri* probably points to the education of the nursery, the latter clause to morals; the monastery, as will be seen, was not intended as a home for the backward or for the incorrigible.—Martène, *Regula Comment. loc. cit.*

[2] See G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, I. 223. St. Maur entered religion, in company with St. Placid, at the age of twelve. "Inter hos nobiles (Romanæ urbis) præcipui fuere Equitius et Tertullus patricius; quorum ille Maurum duodennem, hic Placidum puerum, *bonæ spei soboles* tradiderunt: an sollemni illo ritu, quem in sua regula Benedictus præscripsit, Deo oblati fuerint, non liquet."—Mabillon. *Annal. Bened.* I. II. (iii). *an.* 522. 38. Cf. *Vita S. Maur.* auct. S. Fausto ejus æquali, I. 8. *ap. Acta SS. Bolland.* Jan, I. *die* XV. 1040.

[3] The Papal action was taken "propter abusum nonnullorum, qui non tam devotionis quam sublevandæ familiæ gratia, si quos gibbosos, deformes, aut sæculo ineptos habebant filios, hos in

earlier abuses had not escaped animadversion and correction. Guido, fifth prior of the Greater Charterhouse, the first writer of the Carthusian Statutes, was on intimate terms with Bernard, two of whose letters addressed to Guido are extant, viz. Epistles XI and XII. He definitely forbade the reception of oblates, on the ground of both the spiritual and the corporal risks involved.[1] The reception of oblates was, as we learn from the *Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Monasterii* of Udalricus,[2] a writer of the eleventh century, very carefully guarded by the Cluniacs, and considerable care was taken for their protection after entrance.[3] Peter Damian, a strong supporter of the

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monasteria intrudebant."—Martène, *Reg. Comment.* LIX. *ap.* Migne, LXVI. Col. 847.

[1] "Pueros sive adolescentulos non recipimus, quia per eos monasteriis multa contigisse dolemus, et magna spiritualia simul et corporalia pericula formidantes."—Guigon. Carth. Major. Prior. In *Statutis*, XXVII. *ap.* Martène. *loc. cit.* This passage is quoted also by Mabillon in the *Annales Benedictini*, V. LXXI (CV). 549, under the year 1110.

[2] "Ex illustri Bajoariorum prosapia Ratisponæ ortus," he is recorded to have ruled several houses of his Order. Mabillon. *Annal. Bened.* IV. LX (XVIII). *an.* 1052. 531. *Vide* p. 104, *supra.*

[3] Cf. the chapter *De Pueris et eorum Magistris* (III. VIII). It was evidently not unusual for the oblate to be offered vicariously. "Jubet (*sc.* Abbas) etiam uni Fratrum ut puerum offerat vice parentum ejus. Qui petitionem, quam facturus est, scriptam habens confirmat eam signo propriæ manus, et postea legit eam in aperto, et mittit in manum D. Abbatis. Est autem hujusmodi: *Ego frater N. offero Deo et sanctis ejus Apostolis Petro et Paulo hunc puerum nomine N. vice parentum ejus. . . .*"—*Ap.* Luca d'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, IV. 175. In the chapter *De Custodia Iuvenum* (III. IX) we read: "Frater qui est hujus ætatis, ut adhuc sit imberbis, etsi ultro seculo renunciaverit, et optimæ sit opinionis, minime tamen custodia caret. . . . In qua qui positus fuerit, primum in dormitorio lectus ejus est prope lectum Custodis sui, ad quem absque illo nec accedit unquam nec recedit."—*Ap.* d'Achéry, *op. cit.* 183. Again, it is laid down *De Pueris et eorum Magistris*: "Si quis fratrum de foris veniens osculatus fuerit omnes fratres,

reforms of Leo IX (1049–1055), writing to the monks of Monte Cassino, expresses his joy that he had found in their house no *scholæ puerorum*, institutions which he holds to be enervating to the monastic life.[1] The LIXth Chapter of the Rule is entitled *De filiis nobilium vel pauperum quo modo suscipiantur*. Whenever a boy of noble birth is offered to a monastery the parents are to make, on his behalf, the same request for admission as would be made by an adult in his own person (*peticionem quam supra diximus*, i.e. in Chapter LVIII). The *peticio*, however, has to be written; this, in the boy's hand and together with the host and chalice (*cum oblatione*), is to be wrapped in the altar-cloth; and thus the offering is to be made (*et sic eum offerant*). With regard to the property of the boy, there are alternatives; the parents may either bind themselves by oath in the said document that they will never, either by their own means or by means of any third party, or in any other way whatsoever, give him anything or place him in the way of possessing anything; i.e. they may disinherit him in perpetuity.[2] Or, if they are unwilling to do this, and are willing to

minime tamen osculatur eos (*sc.* pueros), sicut etiam nec in Ecclesia ad pacem."—*Ap.* d'Achéry, *op. cit.* 182.

[1] "Inter cæteros autem virtutum flores quos in illo agro pleno, cui benedixit Dominus, reperi, fateor, hoc mihi non mediocriter placuit quod ibi scholas puerorum, qui sæpe rigorem sanctitatis enervant, non inveni."—Petr. Damian. *Ad Cassinenses* (Tom. III. *Opusc.* xxxvi. 16). Peter Damian (1007–1072) addressed to the Pope, in the year 1049, his great indictment of abuses, entitled *Liber Gomorrhianus ad Leon. IX.*

[2] "De rebus autem suis aut in præsenti peticione promittant sub jurejurando: quia numquam per se, numquam per suspectam personam, nec quolibet modo ei aliquando aliquid dent, aut tribuant occasione habendi."—*Reg. S.P. Bened.* LIX. *ap.* Guignard, *Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne*, 47. We quote the text of the Dijon MS. 82 (*al.* 114) dated by Guignard between 1173 and 1191, and edited by him. *Vide* p. 100, note 2, *supra.*

offer alms to the monastery in return for the boy's admission (*pro mercede sua*), such offering is to be made by formal donation; only they are free to reserve to themselves, if they so desire, the usufruct of what they thus give; [1] this would appear to mean that, whatever the boy's portion may be, it is settled upon the monastery, the profit or advantage of it being, at their discretion, enjoyed by the parent or parents until the last surviving of them be dead.[2] In this way everything is to be so arranged that the boy may have no expectation which may deceitfully tempt him to perdition (*per quam deceptus perire possit*). It is noteworthy that St. Benedict speaks of having had experience of such a result (*quod experimento didicimus*).[3] In the case of poor parents their responsibility is limited to the making of the *peticio* and the offering of the boy; but it is prescribed, no doubt in the absence of the material security provided by nobles, that he is to be offered *coram testibus*. It may be of interest to give a typical formula of offering, quoted by Martène in his *Regula Commentata* (LIX. *ap.* Migne, LXVI. Col. 842), "ex veteri ms. codice S. Cæciliæ Albiensis sæculo IX exaratam, quæ est hujusmodi. Trado puerum istum in devotione Domini nostri Iesu Christi,

[1] "Faciant ex rebus, quas dare volunt Monasterio, donationem, reservato sibi (si ita voluerint) usufructuario."—*Reg. S.P. Bened.* LIX.

[2] This is explained by Hildemarus (Martène, *Reg. Comment. loc. cit. ap.* Migne, LXVI. Col. 844) as follows: "Si eum exhæredare de rebus suis noluerint, sed voluerint ejus portionem offerre in monasterium, tunc offerant ejus portionem cum ipso infantulo."

[3] Smaragdus (*Exposit. in Regulam*, LIX), commenting on these words, writes: "Quod si et tunc raro fiebat, nunc vero factum nos frequentissime cognoscimus. De hoc enim capitulo quidam monachorum Magister ait: Cum alicujus nobilis filius . . . in monasterium voluerit convolare, non prius suscipiatur, nisi . . . omnem a se obedientiam promiserit adimplendam. Deinde conveniant ejus parentes. . . ."

coram Deo et SS. ejus, ut persistat omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, et fiat monachus ad mortem suam."

Having explained so much we return to the case of Robert of Châtillon. Mabillon definitely states him to have been offered at Cluny, but, when an adult, presumably at the age of fourteen, moved by the example of Bernard and of Bernard's brothers and friends, to have sought admission as a monk at Cîteaux.[1] He further describes how, considered not to be of sufficiently mature age, his admission was postponed.[2] In the meanwhile Robert, impatient of delay, visited Cîteaux continually in support of his request, and by no means confined himself within the walls of Cluny.[3] According to Mabillon, after his profession at Cîteaux, he obtained leave from St. Stephen Harding to migrate to Clairvaux.[4] The latter abbey having been founded

[1] "Is Deo a parentibus oblatus fuerat puer in Cluniacensi monasterio: sed, cum jam adultus esset, ubi rescivit Bernardum cum fratribus suis ac sociis Cistercium secessisse; et ipse pia æmulatione ductus, ibidem se admitti postulavit."—Mabillon. *Annal. Bened.* V. LXXII (xcviij). *an.* 1115. 605. The *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense* (*Dist.* III. ix) states: "quippe qui ipsorum (*sc.* Cluniacensium) monasterio a parentibus suis, secundum Regulam S. Benedicti, puer promissus fuisset," as the ground upon which the Cluniacs based their claim. We shall presently see the difference between *oblatus* and *promissus*. The *Notæ Fusiores* of the Benedictine edition regard the words of *Epistle* I. 10: "Nam si dignaris, et verbo, et exemplo meo in religionem ego te genui," as indicating that Robert was one of the thirty whom Bernard brought with him to Cîteaux.

[2] Bernard specifies the period. "Te licet invito, dilatus es per biennium."—*Epist.* I. 8.

[3] "Idemtidem Cistercium ventitabat, nec Cluniaci monasterio se continebat."—Mabillon. *Annal. Bened. loc. cit.* "De sæculo quippe, non de Cluniaco, te teste, Roberte, venisti Cistercium."—S. Bern. *Epist.* I. 8.

[4] "Post professionem Cistercii factam, a Stephano abbate facultatem obtinuit migrandi Claram vallem amore Bernardi propinqui sui, cujus exemplo Cisterciense institutum amplexus erat."—Mabillon. *Annal. Bened. loc. cit.*

in 1115, Robert's novitiate could not have begun much earlier than in 1114, and the Abbé Vacandard suggests, as the date, the spring of that year, adding that the language of Bernard's Epistle I may point to his having finished his novitiate at Clairvaux.[1] But may it not be that the touching appeals to which the letter in question refers were made, for the most part, before Bernard left Cîteaux for Clairvaux? There is no record of Robert's having accompanied him thither. What is certain is that, soon after his arrival at Clairvaux, Robert began to find the severities to be irksome, and to institute a comparison between them and the easier ways of Cluny. To the insidious support of this discontent there came, naturally enough, the doubt as to whether he was not bound to Cluny by an oblation made by his parents. The true state of his mind does not seem to have been appreciated by Bernard.[2] As we learn from the Epistle, written after Robert's departure from Clairvaux, the young monk had plainly been full of complaints, even against the abbot himself, and the latter is self-reproachful for his harshness and lack of sympathy; he blames himself unsparingly.[3] It was during Bernard's absence that there had arrived at Clairvaux Bernard de Brancio, Grand Prior of Cluny, the envoy of Abbot Pontius, to

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[1] *Vie de saint Bernard*, I. 89 sq.

[2] "Delicatus adolescens pusillanimitate victus, sacrorum quoque exercitiorum assiduitatem pertæsus, minus patienter verbum post tergum monentis (*sc.* Bernardi) audiebat."—*Exord. Magn. Cisterc. Dist.* III. ix.

[3] "Fuerit certe meæ culpæ quod discessisti. Delicato quippe adolescentulo austerus exstiteram, et tenerum durus nimis inhumane tractavi. Hinc enim et præsens quondam adversum me (quantum memini) murmurare solebas. . . . Non tibi imputetur . . . Sed fuerit (ut dixi) meæ culpæ quo discessisti, ne, dum de reatus perpetratione contenditur, emendatio retardetur."—S. Bern. *Epist.* I. 2.

claim Robert for the house of his supposed oblation. Of this envoy Bernard speaks scathingly.[1] The Grand Prior appears to have seduced Robert by the preaching of another gospel, the opposite, in every particular, of the gospel of the *Cisterciense Institutum*,[2] and yet, also, the very gospel calculated to commend itself to the *delicatus miles*, who seeks to avoid the *armorum pondus et asperitas*.[3] In any case the too credulous youth is sufficiently persuaded to allow himself tō be taken to Cluny, where he is, like some lost prince rescued from the gypsies, washed and brushed

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[1] "Missus est magnus quidam prior ab ipso principe priorum; foris quidem apparens in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem lupus rapax."—S. Bern. *op. cit.* 4. For Bernard de Brancio see the *Majorum Priorum Catalogus* in *Gall. Christ.* IV. 1166. "XXIV. Bernardus II. Grossus de Brancione, tanquam prior Cluniaci testis est in pluribus chartis Bernardi Grossi militis, cujus patruus dicitur, ann. 1116, 1117 et 1124, et in aliis absque cognomine 1123 and 1125." He appears to have "biennio tantum" ruled as Abbot of St. Martial. Cf. *op. cit.* II. 560, where the margin notes "*al.* Bern. Grotius de Branceduno, *ex Baluz.*" The *Abbatum Nomenclatura* of Cluny in *Gall. Christ.* IV. 1134 and 1136 gives "VII. Pontius de Melgueil filius Petri Merguliensis comitis, prior quondam S. Martialis, vel ut alii volunt S. Pontii monachus . . . successor tandem B. Hugonis electus 1109. VII. idus Maii . . . diem postremum obiit Romæ anno 1125. IV. cal. Jan."

[2] "Novi evangelii prædicator commendat crapulam, parsimoniam damnat; voluntariam paupertatem, miseriam dicit; jejunia, vigilias, silentium, manuumque laborem, vocat insaniam. . . . Quando, inquit, delectatur Deus cruciatibus nostris? . . . Qualis vero religio est fodere terram, sylvam excidere, stercora comportare? . . . Utquid vero Deus cibos creavit, si non liceat manducare?"—S. Bern. *op. cit.* 4. Bernard had evidently received from the monks a vivid account of this fine gentleman and of his contemptible snobbery. Was it a true expression of De Brancio's sentiments, or was it a pose assumed for the occasion? In any case the Saint knew his man, and his portrait is, we may be sure, a masterpiece.

[3] S. Bern. *op. cit.* 13.

and fed and fêted, until his head is turned.[1] Yet, alas! in truth he is but *capta præda*, spoil to be divided among the victors. "O good Jesu! And all this but to destroy one poor little soul! The hardest heart might soften at the sight." [2]

But the Abbot of Cluny knew with whom it was that he had to deal. Bernard would never allow his own near kinsman, a mere boy, to be successfully filched from Clairvaux by the very monks against whose infidelity to the Benedictine spirit Clairvaux was a standing protest. The Cluniac authorities without delay took steps against his acceptance of their challenge. Nothing, they doubtless thought, could turn their flank, were it but possible to gain the Pope's decision that Robert was an oblate of their house. It is true that the mission of the Grand Prior had followed upon earlier representations that his Cistercian profession was unconstitutional, representations which Bernard had evidently resented; [3] but apparently no document was offered by the Cluniacs in evidence of their claim, for Bernard explicitly denies that the *petitio*, prescribed by the Rule, was ever made; [4] his

[1] "Tondetur, raditur, lavatur; exuitur rusticanis, vetustis, sordidis; induitur pretiosis, novis ac nitidis; et ita in conventum suscipitur. Sed cum quali putas honore, cum quo triumpho, cum quanta reverentia? Defertur ei super omnes coætaneos suos et, tanquam victor rediens a pugna, sic laudatur peccator in desideriis animæ suæ."—S. Bern. *op. cit.* 5.

[2] "O Jesu bone! Quam multa facta sunt pro unius animulæ perditione! Cujus ad hæc quantumlibet robustum pectus non emollesceret?"—S. Bern. *op. cit.* 5.

[3] "Cumque auctoritate B. Bernardi premerentur, ne eum publice repetere præsumerent, ad callidiora sese argumenta vertere. Missus est namque prior quidam . . . ut, si fieri posset, blanditiis et suasionibus suis juvenem illum circumveniret."—*Exod. Magn. Cisterc. Dist.* III. ix.

[4] "Quamquam dubium non sit, promissum illum fuisse, non donatum. Nec enim petitio, quam Regula præcipit, pro eo facta

contention being that Robert had been informally promised, not formally oblated. He further put aside, as of no account in the matter, the land given to Cluny by the parents, which, he implied, the Cluniacs kept, but did not keep the child.[1]

Callixtus II, a Frenchman, had only just—he ruled from 1119 to 1124—ascended the Papal throne. Pontius had little difficulty in obtaining from him a rescript dispensing Robert from his Cistercian vows. Bernard's case had not been submitted at all; and his Epistle to Robert, dated by the Benedictine editor at 1119, was an open defiance of the Pope's judgement. No apostolic dispensation, he contends, can set free the conscience from an obligation binding by divine decree,[2] least of all a dispensation procured, he does not hesitate to insinuate, by fraudulent and dishonourable means.[3] After some years Robert returned to Clairvaux, and in 1136 became the first abbot of the daughter house of Nerlac, in the diocese of Bourges, on the river Cher near St. Amand,[4] and later Bishop

fuit a parentibus."—S. Bern. *Epist.* I. 8. The Benedictine editor notes here: "Promissio votum parentum spectat, donatio pueri oblationem per eosdem factam."

[1] "Sed, si cum terra eum receperunt, cur non et cum terra eum retinuerunt?"—S. Bern. *loc. cit.* "In astipulatione etiam suæ assertionis monstrabant (*sc.* Cluniacenses) terram, quam a parentibus ipsius cum eo Cluniacensi monasterio fuisse donatam memorabant."—*Exord. Magn. Cisterc. loc. cit.*

[2] "Et quid tibi frustra quispiam blanditur de absolutione apostolica, cujus conscientiam divina ligatam tenet sententia?"—S. Bern. *Epist.* I. 9.

[3] "Veniet, inquam, veniet dies judicii, ubi plus valebunt pura corda, quam astuta verba; et conscientia bona, quam marsupia plena; quandoquidem Judex ille nec falletur verbis; nec flectetur donis."—S. Bern. *op. cit.* 7. The language is typical of Bernard's magnificent courage, when a moral issue is at stake.

[4] *Aliter*, Niger-Lacus, Domus-Dei, la Maison-Dieu, etc. The site was formally conveyed by Ebbo of Charenton in 1150, fourteen years after the foundation of the abbey. "Fundatorem

of Langres, dying in 1208. The writers of the *Voyage Littéraire* saw his tomb at Cîteaux.[1] The Abbé Vacandard thinks that Bernard's letter to Robert was intercepted by Abbot Pontius,[2] a fact which would in a measure explain the long delay from 1119 until 1128, when, during the rule of Peter the Venerable and with his full approval, Robert was restored to Clairvaux.[3] Even so Peter had been Abbot of Cluny for nearly six years before the amend was made.[4]

It is pathetic that Bernard's appeal, so mordant

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agnoscit Elbonem de Carentonio, qui monachis Clarevallensibus an. 1150. locum *Domum-Dei* appellatum in Brioria dedit."—*Gall. Christ.* II. 195. Cf. Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 43. The writers of the *Voyage Littéraire* (I. 38) describe it as " à une demie lieüe de Saint-Amand."

[1] Above it were the epitaphs of himself and of three other bishops there interred: " Corpus illustrissimi reverendissimique D.D. Robert de Châtillon, S.P.N. Bernardi gentilis et Lingonensis episcopi . . . Porro prædictus Robertus obiit XIII. cal. apr. an. MCCVIII. cujus hic funus delatum est atque inhumatum." —*Ap. Voyage Littéraire de deux religieux Bénédictins*, I. 210 sq.

[2] *Vie de saint Bernard*, I. 98.

[3] " Cur ergo, mi carissime, unus saltem mihi per mensem non conceditur, cum ego Petrum, cum Robertum tibi sanguine proximos, cum Garnerium, cum quosdam alios, tractus amore tui, tibi, non mense uno, sed perpetuo concesserim? "—Petr. Vener. *Epist.* VI. xxxv.

[4] Peter I, ninth abbot, was elected on August 22nd, 1122. Pierre Maurice de Montboissier, " cognomine Venerabilis ob eximiam divinarum et humanarum scientiarum cognitionem cum insigni vitæ probitate conjunctam . . . vetusta æque ac nobili de Monte-Buxerio prosapia in Avernis editus erat, septimus filius Mauricii domini de Montboissier." He had previously been Prior of Vézelay. " Functus abbatis præfectura annis 35. mensibus quatuor et quatuor diebus, Cluniaci 1158. beato fine ad superos transfertur calendis Januarii ex Roberto de Monte, seu potius prima die anni ex chronico Cluniacensi, apud Miræum in Originibus ordin. S. Bened. pag. 95. Sed annum incœpisse a die Natali Domini illinc patet, quod ibidem, pag. 96. obiisse dicitur ipso die Natalis Domini, sive VIII. Cal. Januarii."—*Abbatum Nomenclatura*, IX. *ap. Gall. Christ.* IV. 1137 and 1139.

and yet so tender, should have failed at the time to reach Robert; it is scarcely possible to suppose that, had it not so failed, it would have met with no response. May we think that it was not without its influence upon Peter the Venerable, and that his restoration of Robert, long and unreasonably belated though it seems to have been, was its effect? Before we lay aside this, one of the most characteristic of Bernard's Epistles, let us tell the story of its writing. Seated in the open air in a quiet spot, well beyond the enclosure of the monastery and out of reach of hearers, he was dictating the letter to the monk William, afterwards first Abbot of Rievaulx, when there suddenly fell heavy rain. The scribe would have protected the manuscript and taken shelter; not so Bernard. "It is God's work; fear not, write on," he orders. And so the letter was written "in medio imbre sine imbre"; all around the rain fell, but not on William's sheet; the love, which "shall cover the multitude of sins," both inspired the written words and saved them from all hurt.[1]

[1] "Cum enim undique plueret, chartam expositam virtus operuit charitatis, et quæ dictabat epistolam, schedulam quoque pariter conservabat."—*Vita Prima*, I. xi. 50. The *Fragmenta ex Tertia Vita* (VI) give us various interesting details. "Exiit autem extra monasterii septa, ut dictaret secretius: et Guillelmus, qui postea in Angliis Rievallensem ædificavit abbatiam . . . scribebat in charta . . . Res mira! Madebant vestes eorum, et scribebatur grandis epistola, et chartam omnino non tetigit imber." Geoffrey adds—we shall remember that it was about the year 1145 that, at the end of his service as Bernard's secretary, he published the *Corpus Epistolarum*—"et ego ipse primam eam constitui in Corpore Epistolarum, cum audissem tam grande miraculum ab ipsius ore, qui scripsit eam in pluvia sine pluvia." A little chapel was subsequently built on the site of this miracle, and still existed when Martène and Durand visited Clairvaux. "Nous vîmes en passant, un peu au dessus de l'enclos du monastère une chapelle érigée dans l'endroit même où fut écrite la lettre de S. Bernard à son neveu Robert, au milieu d'une très grande

The unique historical value of this letter arises, in large measure, out of the fact that Robert's seduction marked an epoch in the life of Bernard. It brought him forth on to the great stage of the Cluniac controversy; it revealed him as the protagonist against a fierce and unscrupulous spirit of reaction. He had been wounded to the quick in the person of a beloved kinsman and disciple. A blow, an unfair blow, had been struck at the Cistercian reform, and the authority of the Chair of St. Peter had been invoked, after a very crooked fashion, to justify the blow. Doubtless the Cluniacs regarded the *Cisterciense Institutum* as both puritanical and pharisaical. To them it probably appeared to be an attempt to put back the clock to the disadvantage of Benedictine monachism; its primitivism might, indeed, have been speciously represented as a dangerous anachronism, calculated to discredit the whole monastic system. Puritanical it professedly was; pharisaical it certainly was not. Probably it was a few years later than this that William of Malmesbury tried to fasten upon Robert of Molesme the reproach of softness and instability;[1] the charge was one which Mabillon, in the low light of history, which reveals so much that the blaze of to-day's noon hides, did not hesitate to rebut with indignation.[2] He could

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pluye, sans que le secrétaire en fût incommodé, ni le papier moüillé."—*Voyage Littéraire*, I. 186. Méglinger in the *Iter Cisterciense* (70) describes the place. "Distat a monasterio Claravallensi hic locus media hora, in umbilico sylvæ ad muros usque pertingentis. Ad prodigii memoriam perpetuam parvum sacellum erexere, in quo depictum mirabile hoc factum cernitur."

[1] He derided his retirement from Cîteaux: "Temporis intercessu pœnituit homo delicate nutritus, et ægre ferens tam diutinam ciborum parsimoniam."—Guill. Malm. *De Gest. Reg. Angl.* IV. *De Cisterciensibus.* Robert was then over seventy years of age.

[2] "Sic de viris piis et sanctis temere judicant, loquunturque

give good reasons for regarding the *Cisterciensis pusillus grex* as men who carried heavy burdens and said little of their weight.[1]

And it has to be remembered that the Cistercian reform, although probably the most drastic, was by no means the first which had been initiated within the Benedictine Order. The account which Mabillon gives, under the date 927, of the desuetude of the Rule, so early as the beginning of the tenth century, is indeed deplorable; there were many monasteries in which its very existence was unknown; not perhaps in Italy, but probably in France, in England and in Spain. When a reformer arose, in the person of Odo II, Abbot of Cluny, the impression widely prevailed that he himself was the compiler of the Rule.[2] We are told that his enthusiasm worked wonders, but, alas! the results were not abiding. Either the comparative mediocrity of his character or the traditions of his house were at fault; possibly both. After his death, so we learn, chaos reigned again throughout the

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homines, qui eorum facta ex suis moribus metiuntur."—Mabillon. *Annal. Bened.* V. LXIX (cvi). *an.* 1099. 405.

[1] "Tum vero durissimum vivendi genus illic observatum, ad accuratissimam regulæ praxim compositum: ut nihil minus ab antiquis illis Ægypti patribus, quorum non sine stupore facta legimus, novi illi Cistercienses fecisse videantur."—Mabillon. *op. cit.* V. LXIX (civ). *an.* 1099. 405.

[2] "In antiquis (monasteriis) ita labefacta erat religio, ut sancti Benedicti regulæ non modo observatio, sed ipsum etiam nomen in plerisque ignoraretur. Ita in Gallia, ita in Anglia et in Hispania, adeo ut Odo primus ejus regulæ propagator a nonnullis ejus temporis scriptoribus creditus sit. Hos inter monachus Dervensis anonymus, qui librum de miraculis sancti Bercharii abbatis scripsit, regulam sancti Benedicti ad id tempus *hominibus Francorum imperii inauditam* fuisse dicit."—Mabillon. *Annal. Bened.* III. xlii (xci). *an.* 927. 389. "Ordinem monasticum temporibus suis omnino in præceps ruentem."—*Exord. Magn. Cisterc. Dist.* I. vi.

Benedictine Order.[1] In fact, he failed to found a school of reformers, and the extent of his failure at once helps us to measure the Cistercian success and to appreciate its high value.

For the distinguishing feature of the *Cisterciense Institutum* was, surely, that it was more than a mere system; that it was a school instinct with a spirit; and such a school is secured not upon one life, but upon many. Robert of Molesme, it is true, soon receded into the background; but his retirement from Cîteaux was, in reality, but an expression of that spirit, however much it may have seemed to spell failure. The new school, the school of the primitives, had been securely founded. The cry "Back to St. Benedict" was loudly vocal; and although, for a brief hour in the days of St. Stephen Harding, it did not seem to win good heed, when it reached the ears of Bernard it enlisted its apostle, the man with the forceful, Pauline personality, adorned, in his case, with a graceful suavity of manner, a mystic tone of thought, a passionately tender utterance, which were Johannine.

In yet another aspect the years 1119 to 1121 marked an epoch. In the episode of Robert of Châtillon Bernard, as we have seen, had thrown down the gauntlet to the party of reaction, to the die-hards; he had successfully challenged the powerful Cluniac Order. The foundation of Foigny revealed the pro-

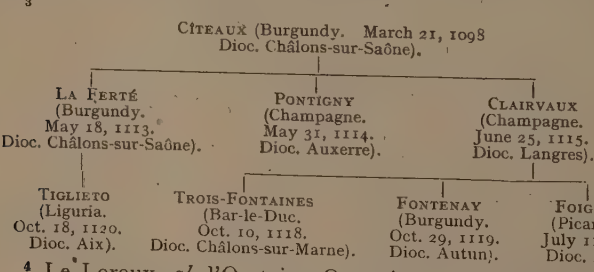
[1] Odo lived from 879 to 942. We read of him in the *Chronologia* of Robert of Auxerre, *ap. Goll. Christ.* IV. 1125: "Hic beatus Odo . . . disciplinæ regularis sagacissimus propagator. Ipsius enim industria et fervore, monachorum tepor versus est in ardorem . . . Valde quippe per eum et sub eo refloruit exsiccata monachorum devotio, et B. Benedicti institutio laudabilis viguit plurimum in cœnobiis, et convaluit reparata." But Mabillon writes (*Annal. Bened. loc. cit.*): "Eo mortuo, cum nullus tantæ moli sustinendæ idoneus repertus esset, ad pristinum chaos revoluta est Benedictina religio."

jected extension of the reform into a larger world, into Benedictine Europe.[1] By the end of the year 1121 eighteen Cistercian houses existed, not counting Cîteaux, the ancestor of them all. With the exception of Tiglieto,[2] in Liguria, a daughter of La Ferté, the first offspring of Cîteaux, they were all in Gaul. Of these eighteen monastereis, nine were founded from Cîteaux, three from Clairvaux, two from Pontigny, two from Morimond, one from La Ferté, and one from Bonneval. Some details of the first three foundations of Cîteaux, of the three so far effected by Clairvaux, and of the one foundation of La Ferté are set out at foot.[3] The last house founded in the year 1121 was Le Loroux, the ninth daughter of Cîteaux, in the diocese of Anjou, about three leagues from Saumur.[4]

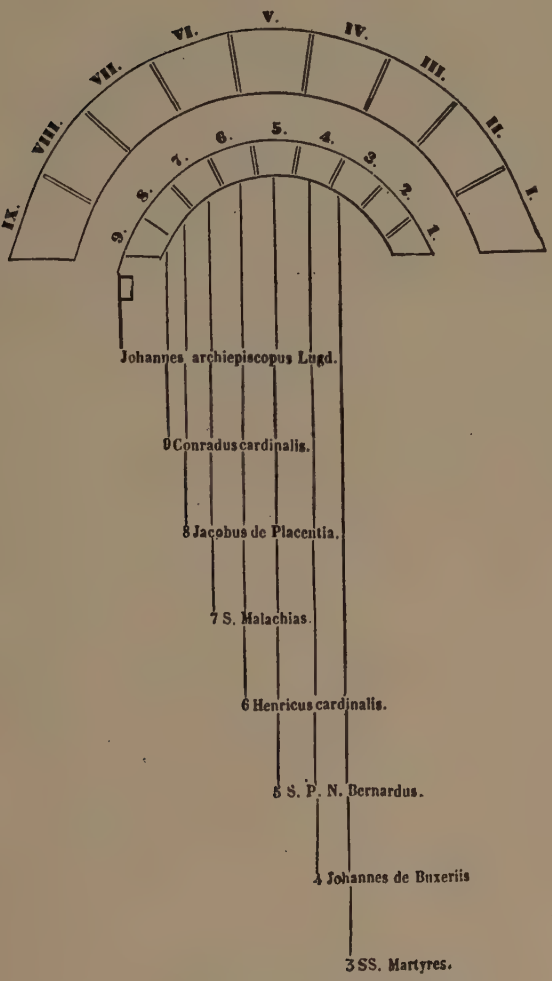
[1] Such an extension involved, perhaps, results scarcely compatible, in a strict sense, with the original Cistercian ideal of the *cœnobium in eremo*. The modification, by degrees, of such an ideal was inevitable in the case of an Order in which a personality like that of Bernard was the driving force. Ascetic and puritan though he was to the very last, the Abbot of Clairvaux became, on all the grounds which determine vocation, to a greater extent than any other cleric of his time except the Pope, a public man. Cf. p. 131, *supra*.

[2] Tilgieto, *al.* Tiletum, Tilet, etc., was "in valle Mollariarum, per quam Orba fluit, Saxellum inter et Ovadam in Liguria et diœcesi Aquensi." It was founded on Oct. 18th, 1120. Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* I. 9.

[3]



[4] Le Loroux, *al.* l'Oratoire, Oratorium, etc., was founded on



PLAN OF THE CHOIR OF THE CHURCH OF CLAIRVAUX

In this, perhaps the first *annus mirabilis* of the Order, we must not forget that *nobilis Campanus*, Robert of Molesme. It was less than a quarter of a century since, with a few companions, he had gone out into the desert waste of Cîteaux, a dank unfertile land, the home of beasts and not of men,[1] and had left it, not because his courage was daunted, but because he obeyed orders. By his obedience he merited the grace to found a family, and more, to claim Bernard as his son.

September 14, 1121, "in comitatu et diœcesi Andegavensi (in reg. Maine-et-Loire) . . . tres a Salmurio leucas distans."—Janauschek, *op. cit.* I. 10 and 286. Cf. *Gall. Christ.* XIV. 726.

[1] "Divino sollicitatus fervore . . . depositis omnibus quæ in vestimentis puritati regulæ obviaverant, de Molismo egreditur, et . . . ad vastam eremi et horribilem pervenit solitudinem Cistercii."—*Ex Chronic. Willelm. Godelli Monach. S. Martial. Lemovic. ap. Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XIII. 673.

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   Tomus Primus. Lugduni. MDCXLII.
   Tomus Secundus. Lugduni. MDCXLV.
   Tomus Tertius. Lugduni. MDCXLIX.
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   Folio.
   Angelo Manriquez was a monk of the Cistercian Abbey of Huerta (" monachus Hortensis ") in Old Castile, and in the diocese of Seguntia. Janauschek (*Orig. Cisterc.* I. xxvj) speaks of him as " tandem Pacis-Augustæ episcopus." He is, probably, *facile princeps* amongst the historians of the earlier days of the Order.

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[1] Hauréau entitles "Regionum omnium qua Vetus Gallia complectebatur."

[2] Tom. III describes "Congregationis S. Mauri Ordinis S. Benedicti præpositi generalis."

[3] Tom. I alone reads "Lutetiæ Parisiorum"; Tom. II & III read "Parisiis."

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